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TANIS.

PART I., 1883-4.

141 A

LONDON: PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, CLERKENWELL ROAD.

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TANIS.

PART I., 1883-4.

BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

SECOND MEMOIR OF

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.

LONDON:

MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL, E.C.

1885.

. . . . " *Copy fair what Time hath blurred;*
Redeem truth from his jaws" . . . .

HERBERT.

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PREFACE.

THE present work is half taken up with an account of the monuments of San, which had been nearly all discovered by Mariette, but of which no connected or detailed account has hitherto been written. Such a publication of the remains of a city which was only inferior to the other capitals—Thebes and Memphis—in the splendour of its sculptures, needs no comment. The other half of the account is occupied with the results of the various excavations which I carried on, and which yielded us much information on the age of many classes of objects, besides furnishing the British Museum with several antiquities of types unknown before.

In laying this memoir before the subscribers, I have endeavoured to hit the mean between the lavish style of Government publications, such as seems to have become associated with work in Egypt, and on the other hand the unpleasantly rough manner which sometimes appears in foreign works. If anything more elaborate is wished for in the matter of plates, the only reply must be that the money which would be thus spent is really wanted for actual work; the only reason that I regret the need of doing these plates myself is that it is impossible, with the many other matters that must be attended to, to issue more than a moiety of the inscriptions of San this season.

The photographs taken during the season 1883-4 are now all in England; some of the most important are reproduced in this volume, and many were exhibited at the General Meeting at the Royal Institution. Subscribers wishing to see the series are requested to communicate with Mr. Murray, 113, Pentonville Road, London, N., from whom a set can be obtained for inspection. Copies of any of them may be had at cost price from him.

I am sorry that nearly a year should have elapsed between the writing and publication of this volume, partly due to my absence at Naukratis; but

I have thereby had the benefit of the kind revision of the text by Miss A. B. Edwards and Mr. Poole, and of M. Naville's careful verification of the plates of inscriptions from the monuments themselves. In thanking my friends, I must also say how much indebted the present exploration is to the goodwill and co-operation of Professor Maspero.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

BROMLEY, KENT,
August 3, 1885.

TANIS.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Beyond the civilized regions of modern Egypt, past even the country palm-groves, where a stranger is rarely seen, there stretches out to the Mediterranean a desolation of mud and swamp, impassable in winter, and only dried into an impalpable salt dust by the heat of midsummer. To tell land from water, to say where the mud ends and the lakes begin, requires a long experience; the flat expanse, as level as the sea, covered with slowly drying salt pools, may be crossed for miles, with only the dreary changes of dust, black mud, water, and black mud again, which it is impossible to define as more land than water or more water than land. The only objects which break the flatness of the barren horizon are the low mounds of the cities of the dead; these alone remain to show that this region was once a living land, whose people prospered on the earth.

The reddened top of the highest of these mounds may be seen rising out of the flickering haze on the horizon, some hours before it is reached; that is the great city of San, the capital of Lower Egypt. And when the traveller has climbed the crackling heaps of potsherds which cover its mouldering houses, he sees around him towns whose modern names are not in books, and whose ancient history is still buried in their ruins. Tell Ginn, Tell Dibgu, Tell Sueilin, Tell Farun, Tell Gemáyemi, Tell Khatanah, all these have their past on a still unopened page in history; a past of which we may see the sphinxes and sarcophagi, the houses and tombs, scarcely hidden in the dust.

San, Tanis, T'aan, Zoan, these forms of the name have each a history of a different age and a different race. The miserable Arab huts of San first meet the eye; huts which belong to a people whose very nature is nomadic, who have no notions of town life,—or civilization, in the literal sense,—whose dark and miserable mud rooms are huddled together without any plan or order, in the most unhealthy flat, with on the one side a muddy stream into which they throw their dead buffaloes, and from which they drink, and on the other a swamp full of rotting graves and filth. But the high mounds which rise behind this sickening mass of dead fish and live babies, fowls and flies, are the remains of the Roman and Greek Tanis, a city well built and well ordered, whose inhabitants show no small taste in their native pottery and their imported marbles, their statuettes, their delicate glass mosaics, and their fine metal work. And it is of this city that we know most at present, as during the long and flourishing dominion of the Western Powers, which gave Egypt new life and new vigour, the successive generations built again and again on the ruins left by their forefathers; thus the mounds at last rose some forty feet higher than they had been when the Assyrians and Ethiopians had stricken the place at the close of its older history.

T'aan, the city of Sheshonk, of Pisebkhanu, of

the usurping Si-amen, and of the magnificent egotist Ramessu II., is still unknown to us; and we can only yet imagine what interest may await us when we reach the dwellings of the people who lived around the splendid temple which lies in the midst of the mounds. This temple, a thousand feet from end to end, stood up above the surrounding houses; and over its long flat roof towered up the colossal statue of the second founder of the city, the great Ramessu, head, shoulders, and body even, above everything else, with stony eyes gazing across the vast plain. This temple was worthy of the capital of Lower Egypt, replete with noble statues of the older kings, of the most magnificent work, and dominated in every part by the royal splendour of the Smiter of Nations, the Strong Bull, the Destroyer of His Enemies, Ramessu, Beloved of Amon.

But beneath the capital of Ramessu there must lie the older town, the town of the bearded Hyksos, the fishy people, the worshippers of Sutekh, who honoured and adorned the early temple; and yet, beneath that again, the town of Amenemhat and Usertesen, of the great kings who first established this as their capital, to hold in check the pushing Semitic invaders; the kings who one by one, as they mounted the throne of the two lands, added their statues to the figures of the Great Gods in the temple—statues of colossal size, carved in the hardest rocks, with severe simplicity, and yet the most brilliant finish. And even before them some town existed here,—Zoan, built seven years after Hebron,—of which no trace is now visible. This large sand island in the midst of the mud, by the side of the river, doubtless had a settlement on it of either the invaders or the defenders from the first days when the Semitic tribes began to take their footing in Egypt, and to press on its rich and well-cultivated plains, which formed so tempting a prey.

2. To examine this district, and to excavate at San, I went down by boat from Fakus on the 4th of February, 1884, and lived at San, in tent or house, until the 23rd of June; only leaving for two short trips to neighbouring Tells during that time. Communication with the outer world was kept up by sending a man forty miles—to Fakus and back—every week, and only once did any European come down to that out of the way place while I was there.

For the first fortnight I lived in a tent, close by the village of San; but afterwards I moved up to a room that I had built on the top of the mounds, some sixty feet above the river level; and, gradually completing my house there, I had at last a little block of buildings of a defensible form, with only one outer door, and comprising six rooms around a courtyard; the rooms being about six by eight feet each, and four of them serving for me and the stores and finds, while the other two housed my overseers. From my room I could see the temple through the open doors, so as to watch the workers, with a telescope, when I needed to be up in the house. No difficulty was found in getting labourers; within a week of reaching San, I had over fifty, men girls and boys, and the numbers varied up to 180. During the harvest, of course, they had to work in their fields, and I had but thirty children left; but usually there was a party of new hands waiting to be taken on every morning. The difficulty was to avoid overstocking; as, in that case, so little attention could be given to each that they would not feel kept in hand, and would deteriorate, and become lazy. The engagement of each man, allotting the work to him, keeping account of his time, and paying him, was attended to by myself; thus there was no opening for native favouritism, bakhshish, or cheatery. The only duty of my Arab overseers was to watch the men, see that they kept to work, observe what was found, and make any little changes needed from hour to hour; but I saw every labourer at least twice, and often four times, a day. Thus I knew everyone about the place, and kept up a friendly intercourse with

them all, so that the smallest children were not afraid; while at the same time I held to necessary discipline, by means of dismissal for a longer or shorter time. So much did they dread losing work, that once dismissing the whole of the gang for half a day because they persistently came late, completely cured them; I never had a man late after that. A fair amount of work was got out of them; a man ordinarily cutting, in good ground, about 200 cubic feet, or seven and a half cubic yards, a day for his wages of 6*d.*; and three or four children, at fifteen or twenty pence a day, will carry this quantity about twenty yards in baskets on their heads. This cutting or this carrying is about equal to three quarters of a day of an English labourer with spade and wheelbarrow; so that a gang of a man and children, costing about two shillings a day, will do as much as an English labourer in a day and a half. Besides this, bakhshish was given for everything that was found; and though this did not amount to 5 per cent. on the wages, yet it ensured things being brought in to me, and was a good stimulus to the workers. It is advisable always to let them work in their own way, while allowing them to use such English tools as may be available. I found that chisel-ended crowbars were in constant request to pick up hard earth, and pickaxes were often wanted; while, in shifting loose sand and dust, spades could easily be got into use. The workers were always split up into small gangs, usually a man and two children, and hardly ever more than three men and six or eight boys and girls together. Thus the work went on slowly in a large number of places at once, so that it did not require such continuous attention as if it were rapidly finished; and each man's work could be checked. Trenches were mostly dug in levels about four feet apart, so that the position of any objects found could be readily known.

3. The general system of work was not by clearing out the whole of a square area down to some fixed level, as that plan uses a large amount of labour, and, what is worse, encumbers the ground with a quantity of waste. On the contrary, narrow trenches were dug, and deep shafts sunk, so as to test the largest amount of ground in the time. On each side of the temple trenches were cut at intervals, reaching down to the original sandy island, from ten to twenty-six feet deep, and running for some way on either side. (See Plan, where all my excavations are shaded in.) In this way, we found a large part of the original limestone pavement of the temple on the north-east and south-east corners, a quantity of pieces of a highly decorated chapel (of the twenty-second dynasty?) on the north of the middle of the temple, and a large well, with staircase, of Ptolemaic or Roman age. It was also determined that there are no other buildings by the side of the temple, and that the remainder of the temple area was probably an open enclosure. Outside the temple area also pits were sunk to fifteen and twenty feet deep, in the valley leading up to the temple (showing the pavement of the road); and in other parts of the mounds, disclosing tombs, a large well, and various other remains. The other class of work was clearing out houses, of which the rooms were generally visible on the surface, having been filled up with dust and potsherds. Here the greatest care was needed, and the best men were always put to this work; it was much coveted by them, as they thus obtained more bakhshish by finding objects. Some labour was also spent on the detailed work of clearing out the sand between the stones in the temple, so as to examine all sides of them; and also in shifting the fallen blocks of the great pylon, so as to reach the outside of its wall, and examine the stones.

In other sites near San a little work was done, but as it was only exploratory, and we hope in future seasons to carry it out further, details of that had better be published all together in the future.

CHAPTER I.

SAN BEFORE THE EMPIRE.

4. The earliest knowledge of San that we at present have, is in the well-known statement in the Book of Numbers (xiii. 22), that Hebron was built seven years later than Zoan. This coupling of it with a Palestinian city shows that the building must refer to a settlement by Shemites, and not by Egyptians; and, considering the age of Hebron, it probably refers to the settlement before the eleventh dynasty. At the time of its settlement it was a saddle-shaped sandy island or "gezireh" in the midst of the delta mud; it lay beside the river, and the sea may then have reached up to it. The highest parts were on each side of the present temple, north and south of it, and rose some thirty or forty feet above the plain; this being the highest islet for many miles around. In the hollow between these dunes was a sandy plain, in which the temple of the twelfth dynasty stood, and which was probably the site of the earliest settlement. The temple of the first town being a sacred site, later temples would occupy it again, and as they spread in size and magnificence, they most likely obliterated the traces of the primitive town. Hence we can hardly expect to find much of any town before the twelfth dynasty, by which time the temple was of considerable size.

5. Among the ruins of the temple of San are, however, two blocks bearing inscriptions of Merira-Pepi; one known since the time of Burton (Plan 113, inscription No. 2), while the other I observed this year (Plan, 96, inscr. No. 1). It does not seem to be quite certain that these belong to the well-known Pepi of the sixth dynasty, as it is possible another king in the eighth dynasty may have adopted the throne name, and employed the variant of the personal name which is here used; since there was another king Pepi-Sneb in that later period. But this is, on the whole, unlikely, and we may accept these blocks as having belonged to a building of Pepi, in the sixth dynasty. The titles also are the same as in the lower line of the horizontal inscription in the pyramid of Pepi. This, however, does not at all prove that there was a building of that age at San; and two circumstances render it more probable that these blocks (which have been reworked in later times) were brought down from ruins rather than from a quarry in Upper Egypt, and that their first use was before, and not after, their long journey to the coast. In the first place, Pepi is here called "son of Hathor, the lady of Ant," the modern Dendera. Now this variant is not at all usual; it nowhere occurs in the pyramid of Pepi (at Memphis, between Dendera and San), and the only instance of it that I can localize is an alabaster lid (see plate xii., fig. 1) which Prof. Sayce obtained at Keneh, just opposite the town named on it. This renders it more likely that this inscription belonged to Dendera or its neighbourhood, than to the far-distant San. Another point is that the quality of the granite is peculiar; it is very hard and unalterable, with green nuclei in it, and there is scarcely any other block of the same quality. If there had been a temple here, built by Pepi, the granite would probably be alike throughout, and there would be many pieces of the same nature, though re-used. Hence it seems that, until some more decisive proof of Pepi's work here can be obtained, it is most likely that the ruthless appropriator of obelisks and statues, Ramessu II., did not object to having a few convenient blocks looted from a ruined temple at Dendera, of which the founder had been then dead one or two thousand years.

6. The first piece of work as yet known to belong to San is the red granite colossus of Amenemhat I., the first king of the twelfth dynasty (Plan, 103). This is broken in three pieces, the head (pl. xiii. 1), chest, and throne. The granite is of a dull brick-red, and somewhat badly weathered on the feet, though the head is perfect. On the back Amenemhat is named

as beloved of Ptah (inscrip. 3 A), and a remarkable group surrounds the so-called "banner"* of the king. The greater part of the lower inscription has been hammered out by Merenptah I., in order to substitute a barren repetition of his own name in the rudest style, only the small strip of old titles being left in the middle. On the side of the throne (3 B) Merenptah has made a similar defacement, but the old group of the upper and lower Niles here appears perhaps for the first time; though the stems of the lotus and papyrus are shown twisted around the *sam* on the throne of Khafra, in the fourth dynasty. On the front of the throne are two strips of inscription (3 C, 3 D), which show Amenemhat as beloved of Ptah of the Southern Rampart, (Memphis) and Ptah Sokar. Along the base of the throne is an added inscription of Merenptah; the other side I did not see, as the statue is lying on it.

It seems certain that Amenemhat I. built a temple here, as his statue was doubtless placed in some large building, and there are many fragments of columns of red granite which appear to belong to him. They have been re-used in the colonnade in front of the sanctuary as late as Siamen, but are evidently of far earlier work. In the first place, they are clustered lotus columns, like those of Beni Hasan, a fact which almost assigns them to the twelfth dynasty; then they are polished far more brilliantly than any work after that period, and the delicacy with which the lines of the leaves around each stem are shown is of the finest style; while, finally, the colour of the granite is of the same dull vermilion brick-red as the statue of Amenemhat I. It is impossible to assign them to the Ramesside, or any late period.

7. The next king, Usertesen I., added his statue to the magnificent temple of his predecessor (Plan, 101); but instead of red granite it is in black granite, and of the highest possible finish and brilliancy. The inscriptions are cut most delicately, and the polish in the hollows of all the hieroglyphics is as fine as on the general surface. On the top and front of the throne are two lines running down each side (4 C, D), and the sides of the throne were ornamented with the same figures as the statue of Amenemhat (4 B). On the back is an inscription of Merenptah (4 A) in better style than is usual for him; the engraver was perhaps shamed into good work by the magnificence of the statue he was defacing; but on the shoulder is hammered in on the glass-like surface the cartouche of Merenptah. The statue itself has been broken at the chest; and the body is much flaked, and the head bruised (pl. xiii. 2). The fellow statue is now in Berlin.

8. To Amenemhat II., the successor of Usertesen, may be ascribed another colossus in black granite (Plan, 97). This is almost equal in finish to the last statue, and it is far more remarkable, having no back pilaster to the figure, which is wrought all round (pl. xiii. 3). It is the only Egyptian statue without a back support, so far as I know. The head is lost, and the torso is broken from the throne. The sides of the throne bore the old group of the two Niles, holding the lotus and papyrus twisted on the *sam* (pl. xiii. 4); and the front a strip of inscription, of which only a part remains (inscrip. 5 A, B, C). Merenptah I. has appropriated the back and lower part of the throne, and has hacked in a monstrous cartouche on the chest of the torso. Though no trace of the king's name remains, it is certain that this statue must belong to the

* This form of title is usually called a banner; but it is really a false door, the inscription being the king's name on the panel over the door, and the so-called fringe representing the panelling on either side of the doorway. The earliest examples are a pot-lid of Senefru in Bulak, on which is distinctly a false door with the drum, the stripes of panelling, the architrave, and panel above it; and the tablet of Senefru at Wady Maghara, where it is far more like panelling than a fringe. On the tablet of Menkaura at Wady Maghara the details of the stripes of panelling are shown unmistakeably, like the false doors of the early tombs. Even though the form became conventionally uniform, we still find a variation appearing as late as Ramessu II. at San (on the side of the triad inscrip. 43 A), which is certainly a doorway rather than any sort of fringe.

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7. The next king, Usertesen I., added his statue to the magnificent temple of his predecessor (Plan, 101); but instead of red granite it is in black granite, and of the highest possible finish and brilliancy. The inscriptions are cut most delicately, and the polish in the hollows of all the hieroglyphics is as fine as on the general surface. On the top and front of the throne are two lines running down each side (4 C, D), and the sides of the throne were ornamented with the same figures as the statue of Amenemhat (4 B). On the back is an inscription of Merenptah (4 A) in better style than is usual for him; the engraver was perhaps shamed into good work by the magnificence of the statue he was defacing; but on the shoulder is hammered in on the glass-like surface the cartouche of Merenptah. The statue itself has been broken at the chest; and the body is much flaked, and the head bruised (pl. xiii. 2). The fellow statue is now in Berlin.

8. To Amenemhat II., the successor of Usertesen, may be ascribed another colossus in black granite (Plan, 97). This is almost equal in finish to the last statue, and it is far more remarkable, having no back pilaster to the figure, which is wrought all round (pl. xiii. 3). It is the only Egyptian statue without a back support, so far as I know. The head is lost, and the torso is broken from the throne. The sides of the throne bore the old group of the two Niles, holding the lotus and papyrus twisted on the *sam* (pl. xiii. 4); and the front a strip of inscription, of which only a part remains (inscrip. 5 A, B, C). Merenptah I. has appropriated the back and lower part of the throne, and has hacked in a monstrous cartouche on the chest of the torso. Though no trace of the king's name remains, it is certain that this statue must belong to the

* This form of title is usually called a banner; but it is really a false door, the inscription being the king's name on the panel over the door, and the so-called fringe representing the panelling on either side of the doorway. The earliest examples are a pot-lid of Senefru in Bulak, on which is distinctly a false door with the drum, the stripes of panelling, the architrave, and panel above it; and the tablet of Senefru at Wady Maghara, where it is far more like panelling than a fringe. On the tablet of Menkaura at Wady Maghara the details of the stripes of panelling are shown unmistakeably, like the false doors of the early tombs. Even though the form became conventionally uniform, we still find a variation appearing as late as Ramessu II. at San (on the side of the triad inscrip. 43 A), which is certainly a doorway rather than any sort of fringe.

twelfth dynasty; and as it is more similar to the statue of Usertesen I. than to any other, we shall probably be right in attributing this—the finest Egyptian statue known in some respects—to Amenemhat II.

9. The colossus of the next king, Usertesen II., was in yellow quartzite sandstone, of very fine grain, and free from sand-holes or pebbles. The chest remains, and two small fragments of the throne, but no other pieces have come to light. On one of these pieces is part of the head-dress of the figure of the Lower Nile (6 A), showing that the usual group was placed on the side of the throne, and on the adjacent front (6 B) is a fragment of the side of the cartouche, showing just the edges of the characters Ra-kha-a . . . . . This proves that the statue belonged to Usertesen II., of the twelfth, or Noferhotep or Sebakhotep III., of the thirteenth dynasty. From the style, the fullness of the trunk, and the decoration, it is to be assigned to the twelfth dynasty, and therefore to Usertesen II. Noferhotep is the only other claimant, as there were besides this a pair of granite colossi of Sebakhotep III. at San.

The statue of Nofert, the wife of Usertesen II., carved in black granite, is now at Bulak. It represents the queen, with a massive wig descending on each side of the face, and ending in a point curled round just above the breast. The eyes were inlaid. Her husband's throne name—*Ra-kha-kheper*—occurs on a pectoral plate on the chest, flanked by two vultures, each on the *nub*, and with the two sacred eyes above. The inscription is on either side of the front of the throne, descending beside the feet. The titles are the same as on the broken statue (inscrip. 11); they will be given in full in the inscriptions published next season. Beside this there is a bust of a similar statue also at Bulak.

10. There is a part of an architrave of Usertesen III. (who succeeded Usertesen II.) executed in pinkish granite (inscrip. 7); and it is remarkable that he is called "beloved of Osiris," which seems opposed to the worship of Sutekh at San. Osiris is only met with on one other monument of this place, Ptah being the most usual deity here, beside Har and Anup, in the early times. The other mention of Osiris is on the base of a seated colossus in close fine grey granite (Plan, 87). The upper line in inscrip. 8 A, on the top of the base, is of the twelfth dynasty, by the work of it; the lower line (8 A) is part of Merenptah's inscription, which is carried round the side (8 B). Merenptah has also hammered out the name of the original owner in the ancient inscription, and has roughly substituted his own. This statue is of the twelfth dynasty, as appears by the work, and must belong to Usertesen III. or Amenemhat III. or IV.; and from the mention of Osiris, as on the architrave of the first of these kings, it seems most likely that this statue was of Usertesen III.

11. Besides these attributable statues, there is a fragment of the foot of a statue in grey granite (Plan, 279), by the side of which is the end of an inscription (10 A), and on the front of which is an inscription (10 B) of the nineteenth dynasty. This might belong to some of the previous statues. There is also (in the sanctuary) a defaced head in the same material, which probably belonged to some statue of the twelfth dynasty. A block of similar grey granite (Plan, 95) bears the fragment of inscription (9) in large figures; it appears to have been part of a larger object cut up. There are two seated female statues here in black granite, probably belonging to the earlier part of the twelfth dynasty; they are princesses, and perhaps daughters of Usertesen II., as there is also a statue of his wife in the same material. One of these statues has a hand on the knee, and the other hand has been across the breast (Plan, 85), while on the front of the throne are the beginnings of inscriptions (12); this statue is broken off just below the knees, and across the body. The surface is smooth, representing plain drapery, and is well polished. The other princess (Plan, 99) has both hands resting on the knees, but otherwise appears to

have originally been similar to the previous statue. On the front of the throne (pl. xiv 1) are lines of inscription (11), but, unhappily, the lower part is lost, so that the name is unknown. Ramessu II. afterwards took this statue, and had all the dress worked up into a ribbed pattern of folds, leaving parts of the old smooth surface at a higher level, just in the hollows under the arms. The hair was also worked into wavy tresses, parts of the old surface remaining also here. The face appears to be untouched, judging by its style and high finish. There has been a metal head-dress, probably a Ramesside addition, and the tubular drill-holes for affixing this may be seen along the eyebrows, cut into the black granite, besides a large drill-hole in the top of the head. The outer part of the balls of the thumbs were cut away toward the wrists, apparently being considered too massive and heavy for Ramesside style, though they are rendered wholly unnatural by the alteration. Finally, a long inscription adopting the statue was cut on the back and both sides. The cutting is in the bold, coarse style general in the Ramesside period, quite unlike the delicate and highly polished hieroglyphics of the twelfth dynasty on the front of the throne. To try and unify the whole thing, and ignore the theft, the titles of the old princess were repeated on the sides by Ramessu II. as part of his mother's inscription. The body has been broken from the throne, and the base of the throne is lost, otherwise this curious example of misappropriation is in good condition.

Another monument of the same period, also appropriated by Ramessu II., is a red granite obelisk (Plan, 261). The original engraving of this was only on the upper part of one side (shown in inscrip. 13), but Ramessu added his names in two columns below that, and on all the other sides of this obelisk (see inscrip. 60): it will also be seen that he erased the names of the older king to substitute his own, and the trace of the older cartouche is visible on the upper part between the two hawks, just below the shorter cartouche of Ra-user-ma, sotep-en-ra. Judging from the fact that the bee is also cut over an erasure, it seems as if the first name had had a different title, perhaps "nuter nofer," or "Sutekh nuter nofer;" if so, the obelisk would belong to the thirteenth or a later dynasty. The representation of Nishem, however, is not very common; but this occurs also on the gateway of Amenemhat I. at Esbet Helmy Pasha. Again, the style of the work is very good, and more like the twelfth than later periods. The adoration of Horus, Lord of the countries, is interesting, and seems to point to a conqueror in the twelfth rather than to the limited sovereignty of the later dynasties. The representation of hawks as regular supporters of the royal shield is not often seen. Altogether this is a curious monument, and makes us regret the insatiable egotism of its usurper.

To the twelfth dynasty also must be attributed the two great red granite sphinxes; one remaining at San (Plan, 51), broken in several pieces, and without the face, and the fellow, which is now the most striking object in the gallery of the Louvre. These sphinxes have passed through many appropriations, but they were executed in the twelfth dynasty, to judge by the fineness of the work, and the treatment of the details. On the chest of the sphinx in the Louvre may be seen traces of the so-called banner of a king, with a hawk above it. A fragment of the end of a sickle may be also distinguished on it, and this shows that it must be attributed to Amenemhat II. or Usertesen II. In the inscription (14 D) is shown the trace of the end of the standard, and of the lines of hair appearing in the midst of the later cartouche. The next name is that of the Hyksos Apepi (see De Rougé, Notice des Monuments . . au Musée du Louvre, p. 22), of which I could only see the inscription (14 F) on the right side of the base; there is also an erased Hyksos inscription, beginning with "Sutekh," on the right shoulder. After this Merenptah appropriated it, cutting out the earlier names with his

usual brutality, and placing his cartouches on the right shoulder (14 C). Finally, Sheshonk I.—the great Shishak—occupied the left shoulder with his cartouches (14 E), and cut a long inscription all round the base (14 A, 14 B). The tip of the nose has been broken off and mended anciently, as there is a drill-hole in the surface where the piece has been affixed. The sphinx at San is more damaged, but there is evidence of its equal antiquity in the titles of an erased name by the left hind paw (15 A); these are cut with much fineness, and can hardly be attributed to a later time than the thirteenth dynasty, and yet they are on a defaced surface, showing that some earlier name has been erased. This seems to show that appropriation began as early as the thirteenth dynasty. After that Merenptah of course appropriated it with an inscription (15 B) on the *left* shoulder (so that both sphinxes showed his inscription to the spectator on approaching the temple), and Siamen followed his example by adding an inscription of his own by the side of it. It is curious to see how a good piece of old work would exercise an influence on later sculptors, and how the kings whose work is but rude if standing alone, have their names executed with almost the fineness of the earlier styles when the engraver had the early work alongside of his own. Sheshonk I. appropriated the base of this sphinx like the other, and perhaps also the right shoulder, but that part is now destroyed. One paw of this sphinx was taken by Mariette to the Bulak Museum.

There is also a smaller sphinx in red granite, very much weathered, and without any inscription visible. The fore-paws are broken off, and lie beside it, in the temple, near the sandstone shrines. From the work, it seems not improbable that this belongs also to the twelfth dynasty.

12. Turning now to the dark period after the twelfth dynasty, the first monuments that we find are two statues of Sebakhotep III. of the thirteenth dynasty; one in the Louvre, the other still at San (Plan, 102). That in the Louvre is stated by De Rougé in the Notice Sommaire (1879, p. 37), to be from Tell Basta, or from Thebes; but in the Notice des Monuments (1880, p. 16), to be most probably from San. Considering that it is an exact duplicate of that now at San, and that there is similarly a pair of statues of Mermashau, it seems most likely to have come from here. The inscription on the San statue is the more perfect; and the statue is only broken across the body, but is otherwise in good condition. It shows well the style of that period, both in the thinness and elegance of the figure, and in the hieroglyphs, which have not a flat bottom, but are cut deeper just round the outline. The granite is peculiar in colour, being a brown-pink. These are the only early statues of San which have not been appropriated or marked by any later king.

A granite statue of Mentuhotep, son of Sebakhotep IV., is said by Brugsch Bey to have been found at San (Histoire); and a statue of Sebakhotep VI., unknown before, is said by Mariette to have been found here (Rev. Arch., 1862); these figures were reburied by their discoverer, to preserve them.

13. The next monument is an obelisk of Prince Nehesi (inscr. 19 A; Plan, 198), who is probably connected with the king Nehesi-ra of the Turin papyrus (first on fragment 97, No. 278, Konigsb.). This, though partially above ground, has not been noticed or published before, and it is interesting, as giving the name of a district, Ro-ahtu, of which Set is called lord. By the side of this block, on the south side of the sanctuary, is the top of an obelisk, perhaps the same as Nehesi's (Plan, 197), with part of a figure of Khem, and an inscription (19 E); and in the same neighbourhood are three fragments of obelisks of the same style and the same whitish granite (Plan, 208, 217; 19 B, C, D), which may all belong to the obelisk of Nehesi.

Next after this come the pair of seated statues of Mermashau (Plan, 86, 98); these are the largest of the early statues at San, being over 12 feet high, and are executed in black granite

(inscrip. 17 B). What the exact historic position of Mermashau is, does not seem certain. Mariette supposed him to be a Hyksos king, from his name, read by Brugsch as Mer-shos-u, or Chief of the Shos, a name similar to Hak-shos-u, or Hyksos. But the face is not at all like that of the Hyksos figures, and is closely like that of Sebakhotep. If, therefore, this reading had been correct, it would rather seem to refer to his being the suzerain of the Shasu before they conquered Egypt. Lieblein identifies him with the first king of frag. 78 Turin Papyrus (260, Konigsb.), solely from the *Masha* there legible, since merely the *ka* is left in the cartouche. This would place him just before Sebakhotep III., but it seems scarcely likely from the style, which is different, and rather inferior. There is another king of the Turin Papyrus to whom this may be referred, Ra smen . . . . , the last of frag. 101. On the whole, this latter may be the more likely, from two small considerations: first, Apepi inscribed this alone of all the statues, and hence it may probably be the last statue before his time; and secondly, it is of grey granite, more alike to the Hyksos figures than to any other work at San. On the right shoulder of each of the statues Apepi has inscribed his cartouches and titles: *nuter nofer Ra-ua-a-akh-taui* (or *abtaui* or *qenen*) *si ra Apapa, ta ankh, meri sutekh* (inscr. 17 C) (Pl. xiii. 6). On the side and back of each statue, Ramessu has added his name and titles, copying and modifying the old group of the two Niles with the lotus and papyrus, and introducing also Neshem and Uati; on the lower inscription of the side, we find the name of Sutekh spelled full length.

14. A fragment of the feet of a similar statue is lying in front of the pylon; it has had an inscription, now entirely cut out, by the side of the feet, as is shown by the hollow and by the incompletion of the bows beneath the feet. A Ramesside inscription appears on the front.

At Bulak there is also a statue of the thirteenth or fourteenth dynasty, appropriated by Ramessu II., brought by Mariette from San.

An obelisk of a king unknown in the lists, Aa-a-ark-ra, was found during Mariette's excavations, and carefully re-buried, so that I did not light upon it in clearing the stones this year. A copy of the inscription, as shown in Mon. Div. pl. 103, is given here in inscrip. 20 A, B, C, D. It appears to commemorate the king, and his mother Per....; and the formula, *mennu-f en*, is the same as occurs on the obelisk of Nehesi.

Among the lesser obelisks in the temple are two (Plan, 117, 136) which are palimpsests, Ramessu II. having erased the older inscription, in order to appropriate them. I have copied what figures I could see in slanting sunlight, and from these copies and photographs the inscriptions 21 A and 21 B are here given. The palimpsest can only be traced clearly on just the top of two sides of one obelisk; but there are the signs of erasures in the irregular surfaces of the rest of this and the fellow obelisk. The Ramesside inscription, though of course by far the plainest, is here only outlined, while the older inscription is entered in full as far it can be traced. There appears to have been a deep hole in the middle of the top of each face of the two obelisks, but it can hardly be the *ra* of a cartouche, as it comes too close to part of a banner name on 21 B; perhaps it was for affixing some metal work. On 21 A there was a group of a king offering to a god; and on 21 B we can see fragments of inscription mentioning Ra, and Tennu, probably from the title of Tum. Once again we must execrate the destructions of the nineteenth dynasty. Seeing that two obelisks have been certainly reworked, we may thus understand how some of the other obelisks of San (Plan, 163, 167, 168), inscribed by Ramessu II., come to have their peculiar shape. They are rounded on the faces of the pyramidion, and their extreme apices have been in separate pieces, fastened on with groove and tongue. Now this device is wholly unnecessary, in order to get a foot or two more length, since

these are all small obelisks, under twenty feet, while there are many other obelisks here all in one piece of forty to fifty feet in length. The explanation seems to be that these are old obelisks, like that of Prince Nehesi, and with designs like the old obelisk (inscrip. 13); and that these, having been damaged, and the points broken, were re-cut by Ramessu II.; adding a new point dovetailed on, rather than cut the whole end down; and curving the pyramidal face in order to swallow some of the side, and so make a triangle large enough for the Ramesside scenes of offerings, which took up more room than the older designs.

Amongst the chaos of blocks in the sanctuary are two very remarkable pieces, apparently parts of two false doors of red granite. The larger door (Plan, 180; inscr. 22) has just a fragment of the edge of the inscription on its centre panel remaining, and from the style of the work and the separation of the *pet* and *tam*, it would seem more likely to belong to the twelfth than to any later dynasty. But the other fragment (Plan, 183; inscr. 23) is more important. It is part of a regular sepulchral false door, and therefore suggests that it belonged to a royal tomb at San; if so, some early kings buried at San have been disinterred, and their sepulchres destroyed. On the defaced drum can be seen traces of the upper and under lines of a cartouche, and two *t*'s, which probably belonged to the regular royal title. Another fragment (Plan, 152; inscr. 24) of the end of an early inscription (the block of which was reversed and used by Ramessu II.) seems as if it had belonged to a very large scene enclosed in the *pet* and *tam*.

15. A pair of sphinxes may be here described, the original age of which is somewhat uncertain. One is now in the Louvre, the central object in the gallery, at the end next to the staircase; and the other is in the garden of the Bulak Museum, with a plaster imitation facing it. These sphinxes have the hair dressed in quite a different way to that on the great pair of sphinxes of the twelfth, or the smaller sphinxes of the Hyksos dynasty. Instead of a close mass of short locks, it is represented by parallel lines, running in curves, like the sea-shading round the coast in maps; and there is a long pointed and curved lap of hair on the shoulders. These are certainly older than Ramessu II., since his name is over an erasure; and De Rougé compares the style of that in the Louvre to the statue of Sebakhotep III. They are very different from the larger sphinxes, both originally, and in their later history; and the pointed lock of hair is like that on a sphinx which I discovered last year at Tell Khatanah. It is, however, remarkable that there is no Hyksos inscription erased from the shoulder, no Hyksos inscription on the base, and the chest inscription (which is erased) has not had a large hawk over it, as on the great sphinx. Ramessu II. appropriated these sphinxes by cutting his names over the erasure on the chest (25 C), but the erasure is not deep, and hence the original inscription must have been but lightly cut. He also put his names and a long inscription around the base (25 A, 25 B), in which he is said to be "like his father Ptah," and "beloved of Set." Afterwards Merenptah placed his names on the right shoulder (25 D). These inscriptions are from the Louvre sphinx. This closes the pre-Hyksos monuments known to belong to San.

16. The monuments of the Hyksos are among the most curious in Egypt; and it is to San that we owe the greater number of those brought to light. They are all distinguished by an entirely different type of face to any that can be found on other Egyptian monuments, a type which cannot be attributed to any other known period; and it is therefore all the more certain that they belong to the foreign race whose names they bear. Another peculiarity is that they are without exception executed in black or dark grey granite; no monument of this type is known in other material. Such cannot be said of any other epoch, and this alone may serve as a useful test of the originality of any supposed Hyksos monu-

ment. The cause of this is not hard to see; they were a race who only held the Delta, and occasionally more or less of middle Egypt. They had no command of the red granite quarries of Assuan, which were retained by the crippled power of the native rulers; and hence the black granite was the only hard material accessible to them. Whether it came from Sinai, or from the Hammamat district is not certain. Signor Lanzone assured me that he had seen the quarries of black granite in the Wady Hammamat; but it seems more probable that the Hyksos would obtain their stone from a district over which they had more control in Sinai.

The most peculiar monument of this people is the group of two men, with bushy plaited hair and long beards; they stand with a tray of offerings in front of them, on which lie fishes, with papyrus plants hanging around. The details are beautifully worked, the flowers and buds being most delicately wrought. Pisebkhanu afterwards appropriated this monument, which came from the southern side of the axis of the temple, and is now in Bulak. A similar group existed on the northern side, and fragments of it remain there. The other Hyksos remains of Tanis are the black granite sphinxes. These have been often described, and further details are hardly needed. They have the flat, massive, muscular, lowering face, with short whiskers and beard around it, the lips being shaven; and the hair is in a mat of thick short locks descending over the whole chest, a style copied from the great sphinxes of the twelfth dynasty. There are at Bulak parts of two sphinxes, one nearly complete, and of the other only the fore-part. These have erased Hyksos inscriptions on the right shoulders, inscriptions of Merenptah also on the shoulders; an inscription of Ramessu on the front of the base, and of Merenptah on the side of the base; and an inscription of Pisebkhanu on the chests of both. At San, in a group (Pl. xiii. 5) on the north side of the axis of the temple, there remains the fore-part of a sphinx, with erased Hyksos inscription on the shoulder (Plan, 72); inscription of Ramessu II. on the front of the base (28 B), and on the left side (28 E); names of Merenptah on the right shoulder (28 D) and on the left (28 E); while on the chest Pisebkhanu cut his name and titles in very good style (28 C). The fore-part of a second (Plan, 71) has inscriptions on the shoulders and chest almost the same as on the last (29 A and 29 B), and on the left side of the base the inscription 29 C. Part of a base of the fore-quarters of a third (Plan, 74) has on the front the same inscription as 28 B, but reversed, and on the left side 30 B, while the chest is the same as 28 C. The hind-quarters of a fourth sphinx, or of the third previous (Plan, 73), has the inscription 31 A. On the south side of the axis is another group of sphinxes; a front and back, apparently belonging together (Plan, 60), have the inscription 26 A on the side and back, and 26 B on the chest; showing that it was first inscribed by Ramessu II., next by his son Merenptah (who with filial disrespect has partly erased his father's name, and left the work unfinished), and finally by Pisebkhanu. Of the other sphinx here there are several pieces (Plan, 61), which seem to belong together; the inscriptions are, on the hind-quarters, 27 C on the side, and 27 B on the back; and on the fore-quarters, 27 A on the base, 27 D on the right shoulder, 27 E on the left, 27 F on the chest, and 27 G on the remainder of the right shoulder.

There are but few Hyksos monuments found elsewhere than at San. At Ismailiyeh are some sphinxes found at Tell Maskhuta, during the canal workings; these are of Hyksos work, in the same dark grey granite, and of the same style, as at San. One of these is perfect; but it has not only been appropriated by Ramessu II., but the head has been re-cut, and a Ramesside head of very good style, but too small for the body, has been carved out of the old massive Hyksos head: also the bushy wig and matted hair on the chest, so typical of the hated race, has been carefully removed, leaving only a slightly rougher surface. The sphinxes found with this have been

similarly appropriated in later times, but are as much broken up as those at San. The other Hyksos monuments that are known, are a table of offerings, found in Cairo, consecrated by Apepa; this probably came from Memphis. The upper part of a colossus of the Hyksos type found at Kom Faris, near Medinet el Faium; a similar figure found on the Esquiline hill at Rome; and a monument found at Tell Mokdam, which has been ascribed to Salatis.

It is to be noticed that the Hyksos inscriptions are always in a line down the right shoulder, never on the left; and on the great sphinx in the Louvre the Hyksos name is on the right side of the base. This honouring of the right shoulder in this Semitic people, is analogous to the particular offering of the right shoulder continually enjoined in the Jewish law (Ex. xxix. 22; Lev. vii. 32, 33; viii. 25, 26; ix. 21; Numb. xviii. 18). The Egyptians missed this idea, and inscribed either side indifferently, showing no preference for the left, which was their side of honour.

The arrangement of the temple before Ramessu II. cannot even be guessed, as he made such an entire remodelling of the place, that the older work can only be described in isolated pieces, as in the preceding pages.

CHAPTER II.

SAN UNDER THE EMPIRE, T'AAN.

17. Having now arrived at the Ramesside period, it becomes possible to give some connected outline of the architectural arrangements of the great temple, leaving aside for the present all detailed description of the monuments. Of the eighteenth dynasty there is no trace at San, a fact which is supposed by some persons to point to the continuance of the Hyksos here until the conquests of Ramessu II.

The entrance to the temple was from the west, the side on which the river flows at about half a mile distant; and it does not appear that the course of the river has changed, at least since Roman times, judging by the position of the mounds. As far as 430 feet in front of the pylon I found a rough pavement of small blocks of stone, five feet below the present surface, or about sixteen feet above low Nile level. A hundred feet nearer the temple the pavement was again found; and at a hundred feet nearer still, or about 230 feet in front of the pylon, the pavement was found once more with remains of two red granite colossi of Ramessu II. On the south side of the axis lies one statue (Plan, 1), broken off at the knees, from which it is eleven feet long, in a standing position, holding a long staff at the right side, much like the usual statues of Ramessu's son Merenptah: while on the north side is a block of the base of a figure (Plan, 2), and a leg lying near it proves that there must have been a second statue in this position. It does not seem likely that Sheshonk III., in his rebuilding of the place, would have re-erected a pair of colossi of Ramessu, and still less likely that they would be set out in this position, so far in front of the pylon; and that they originally stood here is shown by the parts of two separate statues being found together, on opposite sides of the axis. It is therefore probable that Ramessu II. himself placed these colossi here (perhaps in the end of his reign, as the style is more like Merenptah's), and that these were the advance guard of the temple precincts, from which some wall or avenue led up to the pylon. Beneath the statues and this pavement there lies over the sand nine and a half feet of made soil, with a line of large drain pipes, running down towards the river, below the roadway. This drain is formed of a number of cylindrical jars, their ends are cut out, and they are placed one in the other, so that there are three thicknesses in some parts. Nearer the river no drain was found, and the sand was not reached, the water-level standing at eleven and twelve feet below the pavement: how deep the made soil extends is therefore unknown here.

18. At about thirty-eight feet in front of

the pylon is the foundation of a limestone wall (Plan, 5); this is three courses high, and seems to have belonged to a structure now destroyed. It may be either the foundation of the pylon of Ramessu, or some work in front of the pylon of Sheshonk, or the foundation for one of the colossi of Ramessu; on the whole it seems most likely to be a fragment of the pylon of Ramessu, the more so as two limestone slabs near it are of that period. There is no other trace visible that can be attributed to what we may be sure was a grand piece of work, the pylon placed by Ramessu II. before the great temple; though we can guess its magnificence by comparing the granite colossi (Plan, 7, 9) which stood before it, with those of the Theban pylons. These colossi when perfect were monoliths twenty-two feet high, representing the king standing in the conventional attitude.* They doubtless were placed in front of the pylon of Ramessu, and were set up again in a slightly different position before the pylon of Sheshonk.

What causes led to the entire removal of the pylon of Ramessu II. we cannot now say; certain it is that, except the few blocks of limestone mentioned above, there does not remain a fragment of the work, as the very foundation stones of the present pylon are the ruins of far different works of Ramessu, utilized by Sheshonk III. Most probably the first pylon was built of limestone; and during the troubled times between the fall of the Ramessides and the rise of the Bubastites it had been destroyed for the sake of building materials, and removed to other places.†

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the pylon stood the great colossus of the second founder of the city, Ramessu II.; where it was placed can only be guessed by the position of the fragments; but as no pieces of it are found in the hall or the temple, and sixteen blocks at least can be identified as having been cut from it for the construction of the later pylon, it seems certain that it was near the entrance. How a single statue of such immense size could be placed, without destroying the symmetry of the buildings, is not clear; the colossi of Amenhotep III. at Thebes are a pair, as are those at the pylons of Karnak; the colossus of Ramessu at the Ramesseum was seated, and did not therefore present the same difficulty, as it was placed in a court of the building and thus would form a centre of itself, and turn the axis of arrangement round to the side rather than the ends of the court. But here we have to deal with a statue between eighty and a hundred feet high, which had only a very thin pedestal included in the block, and would require a built pedestal in addition beneath it. How this could be disposed of in the arrangement of a building which does not seem to have exceeded half this height‡ is not settled by any existing cases; the statue must have stood up with its whole body above the surrounding buildings, defying all attempts at symmetry; for no one, I suppose, will risk the theory of there having been a pair of such figures. A Roman would doubtless have put such a statue on the top of the pylon; but we cannot suppose an Egyptian placing it either thus, or in the middle of the roadway. Perhaps it had a separate enclosure in a court on one side of the pylon; and if the limestone foundation mentioned before were part of the Ramesside pylon, then the inner side of it may have been a hundred feet from the beginning

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* The reason for the left leg being always advanced may perhaps be found in the fact that Egyptians always read from right to left, unless symmetry required a reversal; thus the left legs, as being the further legs, of all the figures of bas-reliefs require to be advanced, and hence the left leg forward might become the traditional attitude, even apart from the left being the side of honour.

† To this day San is the quarry of all the neighbourhood; every time stone is wanted for a mosque, or tomb, or a house, the Arabs wander over the ruins, hammer in hand; and thus all fragments of statues and every block of cleavable stone is carried off by the boat-load. This explains how in all the Delta temples nothing but granite is now to be found.

‡ The monolithic columns of the hall are 36 feet high, and with the architraves would not have been as high as the obelisks, the tallest of which is 49 feet.

of the hall, thus leaving room for a court fairly proportionate to the statue. (For the details of the colossus, see § 28.)

The present pylon, as I have said, was entirely built by Sheshonk III. (pl. xv. 1); and the account of the sculptures will be given further on in chronological order (in the second memoir), but we may here note its construction. It appears to have been built largely out of the fragments of the colossus of Ramessu, supplemented with various other blocks appropriated from the earlier buildings, such as an architrave, a sandstone obelisk, and a large historical stele. The heap of fallen blocks lies so much to the southern side, that during some weeks I was cutting through the ponderous ruins so as to ascertain their nature. All the blocks I found to lie on the surface of the ground, or what was the surface in early Arab times, and beneath them is a bed of accumulated mud and dust, derived from the disintegration of the great wall, such as has also covered nearly all the temple area. No outer sides of the walls of the pylon are to be found, and hence the present granite walls of the passage were either backed with limestone, or else they cased over the ends of the mud-brick enclosure wall of the temple. In either case it was the destruction of the backing of the granite, by plunderers, or by weather, that exposed the granite faces of the passage to ruin; and it was probably as late as Arab times that the walls finally fell into their present dilapidation. The pavement of the pylon, which stretches out about twenty-seven feet in front of it, is composed of earlier blocks, including pieces of the great granite colossus, propped up with the stones of Ramessu II.; thus the whole of the Ramesside pylon must have been stripped away before Sheshonk III. The present pavement is twenty-three feet above low Nile, or seven feet above the limestone pavement nearer the river.

19. Beyond the pylon, from about fifty to a hundred and fifty feet further in, stood an avenue of columns, of which but few remain. These were monoliths, the shaft and capital being all in one piece. They were original works of Ramessu II.; and some later king has begun to appropriate them by cutting out the *mes-s-su* from the second cartouche. As no later king had the name *Ra-user-ma sotep-en-ra* excepting Sheshonk III., it was probably that king who altered these columns; if so, the Ra in the second cartouche would need to be altered to Bast. In the Plan may be seen one perfect column (39), a base (41), and the column belonging to it (42) with the capital broken off, and half of another column (43), of which the capital is also attached. The whole monoliths were thirty-five and a half, and thirty-six, feet high, and the bases three feet one inch high. At the end of this hall stood a pair of obelisks (43, 47) the bases of which (45, 46) are lying not far from their original places. The celebrated trilingual decree of San was found at the spot marked (48). It had been known to a Maltese dealer for some time before the visit of Lepsius, and offered by description to more than one person: he had moved it and left it partly uncovered, and it is said that he sat on it and refused to move until paid to do so by Lepsius; also that Lepsius was intending to move it, and the government hearing of this sent down a party of soldiers to seize it. However these things may be, I only repeat what I was told, as Herodotus says. Finding the tablet at this spot does not at all show that Ptolemy III. placed it there; especially as the level of it is at the stratum of the Roman period, and not a trace of other monuments was found in the trenches that I cut on each side of the spot. It seems probable that this tablet was placed in the Ptolemaic temple, of which I found the pavement and a large inscribed block outside the great wall of the older temple on the south. It is certain that considerable works were carried on in later times at San about the site of the tablet, as the great well and staircase (Plan, 40) show us, and the tablet was probably carried off from the temple for

the same reason that the greater part of the temple itself was removed, being made of that unhappily convertible material, limestone. Beyond this part there seems to have been a blank space for about a hundred and fifty feet, in which no monuments have been found, although partly cleared by Mariette, and trenched through, down to the sand, by myself.

20. The next objects that were placed across the temple were the two colossal sphinxes, originally of the twelfth dynasty (§ 11), and appropriated by the Hyksos (southern one, Plan, 51). Ramessu did not deface them further, but placed them as guardians at the entrance of the temple proper, facing each other, with their sides toward the hall and pylon. Then Merenptah cut his cartouches on the sides (inscripts. 14 E, 15 B), facing the pylon; thus placing the name on the right shoulder of one, and on the left shoulder of the other. Siamen added his name by the side of Merenptah's on the southern sphinx (inscript. 15 B), and finally Sheshonk I. appropriated the bases of both the sphinxes (inscripts. 14 A, 14 B, 15 C). Where the other two sphinxes of less colossal size were placed (§ 15) is not apparent, as both have been removed from San; most likely they were near the larger pair.

These sphinxes flanked the way to an avenue of obelisks, four pairs of which stood within a length of a hundred and fifty feet. Of the first pair only one remains, on the northern side (Plan 49, base 50); and between this and the second pair stood two sandstone colossi of Ramessu II., of which inscribed fragments only remain of the southern (54), while but a block or two of sandstone suggest that a northern companion to it existed here. The second pair of obelisks have fared badly, the northern (57)—which was oblong in plan—is much broken, and the southern (58) lies in two parts, the larger portion having had one face entirely cut away, and a row of holes made in the side for some later structural purpose. Between the second and third pair of obelisks stood another pair of sandstone colossi twenty-seven and a half feet high (68, 69), including a base of two feet; while near these, on either side, lay the black Hyksos sphinxes, now heaped together by some later destroyer, without any semblance of their original order (60, 61, 71—74). Some other small monuments stood in this neighbourhood; a large hand protecting a king, probably Ramessu II., carved in red granite (67); a sphinx in red granite (64); a half-kneeling figure (of Ramessu II.?) (75); and perhaps also here the grey granite statue of Merenptah (70), and a grey granite kneeling statue of Ramessu III., which lies near that. Between the third pair of obelisks (59, 76) and the fourth pair (62, 77) stood, on either side, a shrine cut in a single block of quartzite sandstone nine feet long.* Of the southern shrine only the upper part of the back remains (63), but the northern one (80) is nearly perfect. For some distance, about the middle of the avenue, are many blocks of a pavement of basalt; these perhaps belonged to the old temple; they came from Abu Zabel apparently, like the Great Pyramid basalt.

21. Beyond this avenue of obelisks and monuments the great historical series of royal statues stood in a line across the temple. That they were not arranged in chronological order is certain, since Sebakhotep III. comes between Amenemhat I. and Usertesen I.; and all that we can do is to give their roll of names:—*Twelfth Dynasty*.—Amenemhat I. (Plan, 103); Usertesen I. (101); Amenemhat II. (97); Usertesen II. (84); Nofert, his wife, (Bulak); two princesses, his daughters (?) (85, 99); Usertesen III. (?) (87). *Thirteenth Dynasty*.—Sebakhotep III., two colossi (102 and Louvre); Mentuhotep, son of Sebakhotep III.; Sebakhotep VI.; an unknown king (Bulak); and Murmashau, two colossi (86 and 98). Fifteen statues in all were thus placed by Ramessu II., of which he appropriated one for himself and one for his mother, and to which he added four of

* This seems to be the "chapel resembling a sarcophagus" of a "granulous kind of alabaster," mentioned in the rather confused account in Bædecker's Egypt (p. 444).

himself (81, 82 and two at Bulak), besides a group of the youthful king protected by a deity, of which only the king's head remains. These statues were placed facing towards the entrance; this is shown by the northern statue of Murmashau having the added inscription of Ramessu II. on its own left side, and the southern statue having the inscription on its own right side, *i.e.* on the two sides seen on going up the middle of the temple, leaving the two outer sides plain. These statues have all been overthrown, by doubtless the same causes as all the rest of the monuments here, obelisks, colossi, and others. The covetousness of builders has always placed a premium on limestone, which has led to its being abstracted from beneath every monument in the place; and though we cannot doubt that all the temple had a fine limestone pavement, such as we now may see buried under eight or ten feet of earth at the eastern end, yet every stone in this part has been broken away and carried off, leaving only a mass of chips, which were removed by Mariette, and now lie in heaps on either side of the excavation.

22. Beyond these statues stood two early obelisks from which Ramessu II. had erased the original inscriptions (117, 136), and which in turn had been broken up and used for building material by later despoilers: they were over thirty-two feet high, judging by the more perfect one. About this region must have existed many structures, principally of limestone, now entirely destroyed. We see the traces of these in the many blocks of granite, left strewing the ground on both sides, and in the door-lintel of Siamen (138). There also existed courts here of Ramessu II., as is shown not only by the numerous blocks with his name, but by the jamb of a small pylon (134), about eight feet high, with figures of Ptah and Mut; and by lintels of doorways bearing his name (147, 128, 129, 130). In these courts probably were placed the two altars of offerings which remain at 105 and 115. Also to the north of this, at the place where two trenches join together in one wide clearance (see plan) many fragments of a chamber, with a starred roof and painted with red and blue, were found. No name occurred with them, but, from the style, they seemed to be between the twentieth and twenty-sixth dynasties; and a piece of the top edge of a granite shrine was also found there, which seemed to be of about the time of the twenty-sixth or a later dynasty. Probably this chamber was built under the twenty-second or twenty-fifth dynasty, both of which have left other remains here. Seti II. also did some work, as one block (141) bears his names; and Tahraka added one large stela (the lower part of which was dicovered by Mariette and translated by De Rougé, the upper being discovered this year), and apparently a second inscription on a cut-up column of Ramessu II.

From this region on towards the sanctuary there lie the ruins of a great wall; only the inscribed blocks are shown in the plan, and there are many others beside these along the line from block 145 to 162. Granite alone is left here (beside one block of sandstone, 143), and all the blocks are utterly confused, owing apparently to having been overturned in the course of removing the limestone, which formed part of the wall. As this wall is but fifteen feet south of the axis of the temple, it would seem probable that there was a similar wall (but built nearly all of limestone) at the same distance north of the axis, forming a passage, thirty feet wide, up to the sanctuary. Perhaps the fragments of obelisks, etc., 129 to 135, may be remains of this wall, as those blocks have been re-used. The block of sandstone or quartzite (143) is important, as it seems to show two rebuildings after Ramessu II. The quality of the stone is that used by Ramessu, and not like that of the twelfth dynasty, and the style of a figure on it is Ramesside; but after it had served its original purpose this stone was placed as a threshold, much worn, and deeply grooved by a sliding body, probably a door running on metal

bosses; after that it was re-used again for building purposes, as is shown by a scrap of mortar in a hollow of the stone. The use of this block for a threshold we may attribute to Siamen, but the later use of it in building most probably is due to Pisebkhanu, as there is no trace of the twenty-second dynasty in the temple itself.

In front of the sanctuary stood two pairs of obelisks (163, 167, W pair; 168, one of E pair), which had apparently belonged to the old kingdom and were re-worked by Ramessu II. (§ 14). These have been broken up, and very probably used for building material.

23. The front of the sanctuary was, in the time of Siamen and his successors, covered with a colonnade; and though that appears to have been erected from ruins, yet as the columns are as old as Ramessu II., and some even of the twelfth dynasty, it seems probable that there always was a colonnade in front of the sanctuary.

Of the twelfth dynasty there remain the grouped lotus columns of which the fragments are marked on the Plan (181, 184, 185, 223, 224, 213 and 216), the finest of these (181) still retains its original polish. The Ramesside columns are circular, and surrounded with groups of figures, representing Ramessu and the gods; the fragments of these are marked on the Plan (176, 231, 232, 199, 203, 204, 205, 206). But no bases remain of any earlier date than Siamen, and hence it seems likely that the older colonnade had been destroyed (perhaps for the sake of some limestone in its construction) at the same time as the pylon of Ramessu.

The bases of Siamen (186, 187), which bear his name and titles around them, are made out of earlier Ramesside works, as on the under side of the northern base is part of an inscription of Ramessu II. offering to Shu; and from the size of it and thickness of the block, it seems as if this had originally been part of the wall of the sanctuary. Another base (192), probably to be assigned to Siamen, is made out of the base of an obelisk, as is shown by the groove on it, which always occurs on the bases of obelisks (see 50, 56, 78, 79, 175, 273, 277). This colonnade seems as if it had been partly in ruins again in the time of Pisebkhanu, or later, as there are two or more unfinished blocks of cornice, left with the lugs for lifting them still on the faces. 236 shows these lugs on the sloping edge; and 166 is a corner piece, with similar lugs on the sloping edges, which meet. These blocks are forty-four and forty-nine and a half inches thick. That these pieces of cornice are later than Siamen, is shown by an inscription of Siamen on the under side (which was originally the upper side) of 236, which is needlessly cut into by the crab-holes for lifting the block: we must therefore attribute this second rebuilding more probably to Pisebkhanu (as he largely decorated the temple), rather than to the pylon-builder, Sheshonk III., whose name is not found on any other remains here. The corner of the cornice lying close to the axis of the temple is remarkable, and, combined with the extra size of the two bases on each side of the entrance (186, 187), suggests that the colonnade was broken, and did not extend across the passage, but only in front of the dead-wall of the sanctuary.

Of the sanctuary itself the remains are so scattered that it would be impossible to restore it with certainty. It was probably about forty feet square, and the individual blocks show that the wall was of one piece to a height of 11 feet 9 inches (No. 169), and varied from 25 to 46 inches in thickness; the widths of the blocks are 9 feet 3 inches (No. 169) to a broken edge, and more clearly 6 feet 2 inches up to half the scene on 213, giving 12 feet 6 inches for the whole width. Probably the widths varied according to circumstances, but about twelve feet would be fairly suitable to the height of nearly the same amount. This would give a weight of over twenty tons for each block. Some of the blocks (as 213) show a projecting top on the inner side; that block is 39 inches thick, but at 37 inches below the top the thickness increases to 47 inches.

The outside of the walls of the sanctuary were covered with representations of Ramessu II. offering to various gods, of whom Ptah and Ra can be still seen. These figures were about life size, varying from 65 to 77 inches high. Of the inside of the sanctuary we know no details, and can only say that it was adorned by Siamen with plates of gold bearing his name (Bulak), and a bronze sphinx with his name inlaid in gold (Louvre); and by Pisebkhanu with blue pottery tablets, and small tablets made of a paste of granite powder mixed with clay (?), bearing his cartouche (Bulak and Brit. Museum).

24. Around the sanctuary many monuments appear to have been grouped; though their original emplacement by Ramessu II. is rendered doubtful by the fact that they have been nearly all re-used again in later times, probably by Siamen and Pisebkhanu. Of the great historical stelæ there remain, 1st, the upper part of the stele of 400 years (now buried); 2nd, the largest stele (161), which was 15 feet 10 inches high, 11 feet 5 inches wide, and 3 feet thick, weighing about 38 tons, and which is now broken in two pieces; 3rd, a stele (214) which was 71 × 24 inches, now broken in two pieces; 4th, a stele (196) which was 72 × about 24, and 122 high, now in three pieces, besides one missing; 5th, a stele (215) which is over 50 wide, over $17\frac{1}{2}$ thick, and of which only the bottom remains; 6th, a stele (190) which is $17\frac{1}{2}$ thick, only the bottom remaining; 7th, a stele (242), of which (243) is probably the base, 60 wide and 21 thick; 8th, a stele (8) in the pylon, unbroken, but the face nearly all weathered away, 112 high, 70 wide, and about 28 thick; and, besides these, there remain fragments scattered in the sanctuary which may belong to other stelæ. What renders the recovery of these monuments hopeless, is the fact that many of them, including the larger ones, have scaled off so much by weathering that the inscriptions are gone, and only rough outlines of the figures on the upper parts can be seen. The great stele is entirely weathered on both sides, only just the names of the gods on the top of the lower side remaining legible. Besides this there is proof positive that many of them, perhaps all, were cut up for building purposes in later times; the broken and shifted state of the parts, the holes cut in them, the mortar sticking in the inscriptions, all show that Siamen or Pisebkhanu used up these great monuments—and not without some reason, considering how much decomposed and how illegible many of them were at the time. The celebrated "tablet of 400 years," called so from its being dated 400 years after the era of Nubti, was carefully reburied by its discoverers, and hence I did not light upon it in working, as I did not search the clean sand for monuments which would only be there if recently hidden. Not having seen it, I cannot judge whether any of the portions of stelæ in the sanctuary belong to it; but from the many pieces of which we cannot find the corresponding parts, it does not seem at all likely that we should be able to recover all the fragments of any monument after it had been broken up for building materials, as these have been. Besides the series of stelæ, there are two pillars (244, 248-9), which have been covered with inscriptions, and do not seem as if intended for a structural purpose, but are rather types of a monument intermediate between a column and an obelisk. That they did not support any roof seems probable from their height: (244) is 203 inches long and 41 square (or 10 cubits × 2 cubits); and the two pieces of the other pillar (248-249) are 242 inches in total length. As no other pillars of this height or size remain, and even these two are different in height, they probably were not part of the structure of the sanctuary. The larger pillar (248-9) has a double row of inscription down each face, which was originally cut by Ramessu II.; after being much weathered, it was used for building in later times, as may be seen by the mortar in the cartouches. The other pillar (244) has an interesting series of 16 scenes on it of Ramessu offering to various gods, of whom Ptah, Khnum,

Ra, Sutekh, Har, Shu, Seb, and Sutekh of Upper Egypt, may be still seen.

There is an unusually small obelisk on the north of the sanctuary (241), which was apparently an original work of Ramessu; it is only 15 inches wide. At (175) is a base of an obelisk, with inscriptions of Siamen added on the sides. There are several large architrave blocks lying here, (240, 247, 200, 194, &c.); these perhaps belonged to the roofing or to the colonnade of the sanctuary. The re-worked obelisk of Ramessu II. (261) seems by its place as if it was one of a pair of small obelisks at the back of the sanctuary.

25. There do not seem to be any remains between the group of blocks just behind the sanctuary, and the pair of obelisks at the east end. At (269) is the head and chest of a figure of Ramessu II. in red granite; and at (279) a fragment of the base of a statue in black granite, with traces of an inscription of the twelfth dynasty by the side of the feet, and of a Ramesside inscription on the front, but this has doubtless been removed from the line of early statues. The base of the southern obelisk (277) has apparently not been moved, or but slightly so; while the base of the northern (273) is somewhat tipped over. On cutting into the accumulated earth the original limestone pavement of the temple was found on both sides; on the north side (274) it is made of earlier blocks, as one stone bears the signs *ta ankh* on it; and on the south side the pavement was found in the corner of the enclosure, with apparently the base of a wall of limestone around it, marked on the Plan by a black line.

26. The general history of the whole area has still to be worked out. No early remains were found in the excavations of 1884, which are marked on the Plan. At the end of the temple axis I had a tunnel cut into the wall of crude bricks. This wall is about 80 feet thick, so by a tunnel 40 feet long the centre of it was reached. It proved to be entirely built by Pisebkhanu, every brick bearing his cartouche stamped upon it. The highest part of the wall (at the south-east corner) is still 25 feet high, although it has been much ruined and washed down by the rains, so that all the temple area is filled with its mud. If we grant that it originally averaged 45 feet high, 70 feet thick, and 3400 feet in length—an estimate rather under than over the truth—there must have been over twenty millions of these large bricks stamped by Pisebkhanu; the bricks varying from 16·6 to 18·0 long, 8·4 to 8·7 wide, and 5·0 to 6·1 thick. The temple does not seem to have had any great enclosure in Ramesside times, as the wall of Pisebkhanu appears to be a work *de novo*. But this great wall certainly went around the outline marked on the Plan, as the stamped bricks were found at the north gate, at the north-east corner, at the east wall, at the south-east corner, at the excavation by the house (J), and near the south-west corner. Part of the wall had, however, been ruined within a few centuries of its being built, as all the north side, except a few courses at the base, is built of rather smaller bricks, inferior in quality, and without any stamp upon them. As there is no sign of Ptolemaic or later alteration to the temple, this rebuilding must belong to some intermediate king, and it seems most likely to be attributable to Sheshonk III., who built the great pylon. Why the wall was so curiously irregular in shape it is hard to say. The end wall is scrupulously square with the axis of the temple (the error being within the variations of the work, certainly not 10′ of angle), and the beginning of the north and south walls from the east wall is practically parallel to the axis; but the reasons for placing the north wall so much further from the temple than the south wall, and for running the south wall askew can be only conjectured. In the north-east corner there is a pavement under about 18 feet of earth, even below the level of the base of the wall, in which I found a block re-worked with part of the cartouches of Sheshonk I., II., or III. This shows that the pavement is of a later time, and if Pisebkhanu extended his wall as far as this in

order to take in this corner, some earlier building must have existed here. The south wall may have been built askew either in order to include some area at the south-west corner, or else to bring the wall of the west front to an equality on each side of the pylon.

All over the area, from the temple to the north gate, there is scarcely any earth on the top of the original sand island; the long trench cut there only going two or three feet deep, though I had it cut well into the sand. On the east of this, as stated, there is eighteen feet of mud over a pavement, and the sand drops therefore about twenty feet down to that point, falling very sharply at a few feet west of Mariette's excavation (L). If this sinking has not been excavated, and there seems no reason for supposing so, then this must have been a steep sand dune originally. The sand also falls away, but more gradually, towards the west; and at E, where an old house gave a good opportunity of making a deep hole, we cut down to the level of the original sand foundation, over which lies about fifteen feet of mud at this point. The Roman stratum, marked by pieces of red-baked bricks, which appear to be characteristic of late Roman times, is at about four feet down in all this region north of the hall of columns. At D some houses adjacent to, but separate from, the great wall, were cleared, and others at B, while at A two walls were uncovered; but in no case was anything of interest found, beyond a few clay seals, in a chamber at D. Between B and C are quantities of chips of lapis lazuli, and other stones, and about B the ground is thick with scraps of copper slag: evidently workmen's rubbish was thrown away in this district.

At H there is a group of houses built in the first century, as a coin of Agrippina the younger was found in one of them; but nothing of value was found beyond some fragments of glass and pottery, and a figure of Bes, the worth of which consists in their being dated by the coin. On this northern side of the temple, however, one good house was found, on the inside of the west wall, at M. This house had been burnt, and hence many objects were found in the ruins. This is described in Chap. III. as house No. 15.

Next we should note the remarkable well, numbered (40) in the Plan. This well has a long staircase descending to it, and is very carefully built of limestone. It will be more fully described in the subsequent publication.

On the south side of the temple, a little way south of column (39), a deep pit sunk down to the sand island shows that nearly all the accumulation in this part has taken place since Greek times. At fourteen and a half feet down I picked out Greek pottery from the strata, at only three feet above the clean sand of the island. The houses at K and J appear to be of Ptolemaic age, and to have been built after the temple was deserted.

27. We will finish this chapter by a sketch of the history of the temple area, so far as it can now be distinguished.

We have already outlined the structures of the great Ramessu, of the new dynasty which rose in this city and adorned it as their capital, and of the Bubastites, who carried out their works here on a largeness of scale, and with a ruthlessness of appropriation, worthy of the egotists of the empire. But our knowledge of all the constructions here can never be anything but an incomplete guess-work, after the greater part of the walls, and in some cases the whole of them, have been carried away, leaving behind them nothing but mounds of chips. Two centuries, however, after Sheshonk III. had built the great granite pylon out of the destroyed colossus and architraves of Ramessu II., the temple must still have possessed some dignity, and have had some care bestowed upon it, as we find that Tahraka—or Tirhaka—the Ethiopian left here a granite stele. The lower part of this stele (nineteen lines) had been already published by De Rougé,* but the upper part (seven lines), which I

* See *Études sur des monuments du regne de Tahraka*,

copied and photographed, is still unpublished, and will appear in the continuation of the chronological series of inscriptions in the next memoir. To Tahraka may most probably be attributed the building, of which the pavement remains, in the north-east corner of the temple area (between F and G). From the presence of parts of cartouches of a Sheshonk upon the stones, we know that this work must have been constructed when the works of the twenty-second dynasty (800 B.C.) had already fallen into desuetude, and were being destroyed for building material. At the same time, from the pavement having several feet of mud accumulated upon it, below the foundations of a house which was already old in the thirtieth dynasty, it is certain that we must date it some centuries before 350 B.C. Thus the date of Tahraka (or say 670 B.C.) seems about the most likely period for this erection, of which at present we only know a portion of the pavement.

It shows, at all events, that a considerable time after 800 B.C., and probably as late as 600 B.C., the great wall was in fair condition, and had not become washed down to any serious extent into the temple area by the rains. This is, however, the last gleam of honour of the great temple that we can trace, and it appears to have gone finally to ruin when Sais became, under the ascendancy of Psamtik, the capital of the Delta; though perhaps its death-blow was given by the Assyrian conquest and pillage in the latter part of the reign of Tahraka. During the next two centuries the rains streamed over the walls around the deserted temple, and foot after foot of mud was scoured off them and deposited on the sandy area within the great enclosure of Pisebkhanu. The city shows no signs of importance, and only one fragment of this age, a disc of pottery of Psamtik II., has been found here, and that outside of the temple. It was a garrison-town, whose lands were the hereditary property of the military caste (Herod. ii. 166); and it is not until the revival of the native sovereignty in the Delta, under the twenty-ninth dynasty, that we can begin to see any fresh life in the formerly sacred enclosure of the old temple.

About this time houses were built on the plain of mud, within the mouldering walls of black brick which surrounded it. Some of the obelisks were still standing; the pylon was injured, but yet the walls rose high on each side of the entrance, which was blocked with fallen masses; and the colossi lay half-buried in the heaps of stone chips. The great wall, however, offered too valuable a shelter to be neglected, and so, cutting away the rotten and crumbling surface of it, but yet not trusting to it, for fear of the streams of rain that ran off its wide and sloping top, the houses were built close by it in the north-east corner, where its protection from the biting winds that swept over the plain was most to be valued.

Under the thirtieth dynasty there appears some activity, Nekht-nebf, Nektanebo II., came here; and here, besieged by the Persian power, he was rescued by his Greek mercenaries. To his age may most probably be attributed the three sphinxes which I have found, carved in limestone, and evidently belonging to this period: while to the revival of Egyptian art, strongly influenced by Greek feeling, under the care of this king, we may also ascribe the beautiful sets of porcelain figures found in the ruins of the house G.

During the Macedonian age other houses grew up within the precincts, as at the western side of the north gate; and as the dynasty of the Ptolemies gave more peace than the country had enjoyed for a long period, fresh houses were built against the wall in many parts, both inside it, as at D, F, and K, and also against the outside. Toward the end of this dynasty, as the area filled up more, with accumulations of mud washed off the ruined walls, and the walls were thus lowered, houses were built at last on the top of the wall, which afforded a firm and uniform foundation, as

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Melanges d'Archéologie Egyptienne et Assyrien, vol. i, p. 21. 1872.

may be seen to the north of the pylon. While later still, in the first century of the Roman dominion, houses were set in the open space of the area (H), as by that time probably the walls had become too far worn down to yield much shelter, and their bases too much encumbered to give any foundation. About this time the large well (40) was constructed, to supply these houses without recourse to the Nile. The southern side of the pylon was still standing, although the northern had fallen some time earlier; and under the scanty shelter from the northern wind yielded by the wall of granite, some huts of Roman age were built. Still, in the decline of Egypt, and until the Arab conquest, some of the monuments remained in their places; two or three obelisks and a solitary column stood until their story was no longer intelligible to the degenerate descendants of the men who had erected them in magnificence and power.

28. It now remains for us to describe the monuments of the Empire and later periods found in the temple area, and of which the inscriptions are published in this memoir.

Of the great standing colossus in red granite no original inscription can be certainly quoted, although several inscribed blocks in the pylon most probably belonged to it, judging by the size of the hieroglyphics. As this is not certain, however, these will appear among the miscellaneous inscriptions. On the base of the foot-block there is a hollow of the form shown in inscription No. 32 (Plate V.). This hollow is slight and rough-cut, exactly like the cartouches on the bases of the obelisks of Ramessu II.; it was apparently the *sotep* in the throne name of Ramessu, inscribed on the base of the colossus, and its position on the base well agrees with this. Of the figure of the colossus I observed many portions in the ruins of the pylon. The most important block for restoring the dimensions is that with the toes of the right foot (Pl. xiv. 4). They have been cut off square at the ends, and flattened up at the sides, but their breadths are well defined. They are as follows, across the forking of the toes, together with the similar measures of one of the pair of granite colossi in front of the pylon, and the measures of an English foot:—

Width of	Great Colossus.	Pair of Colossi.	Modern foot.
	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.
Great toe . .	14·7	5·0	1·2
Second toe . .	12·5	3·0	·8
Third toe . .	10·4	2·0	·7
Fourth toe . .	11·2	5·9	·7
Fifth toe . . .	8·4		·6
Whole foot . .	57·2	15·9	4·0
Figure alone. .	(900)	221·	69·5

Taking these scales of proportion, the figure alone of the colossus would be 796 inches by the pair of colossi, or 993 by the modern proportions. As the feet of the pair of colossi are broad beyond all natural proportion (being equivalent to a foot five inches wide on an ordinary man), we shall not perhaps be far wrong in taking the mean of the two results, and saying that the figure alone was 900 inches, or 75 feet, high; or, allowing it to be somewhere between 70 to 80 feet. To this we must add the height of the crown; this in the pair of colossi is estimated at 42 inches beyond the top of the head, and would proportionately be 174 inches high, or $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet. To this again must be added the base of the figure, which was thinner than the usual scale, being only 27 inches thick. Thus the whole block appears to have been about 1100 inches, or say 92 feet high. This was, so far as is known, the largest statue ever executed.

Was it a monolith? will be asked. We can only judge by parallels, as it has now been cut in pieces. There is the obelisk of Hatasu, 108 feet high, at Karnak, and there is the seated

colossus of Ramessu II., weighing over 800 tons, at the Ramesseum; these are works of much the same magnitude. While, on the other hand, no example is known of a composite statute in Egyptian work, except where introduced as an architectural element, and built in small blocks, with a column. Thus, vast as the size appears, there is no sufficient reason to suppose that it was not carved in one block of stone.

That the foot was no isolated freak of work, is shown by the sizes of other parts which can be identified. From the centre of the upper curve of the ear to the highest ridge of the lobe is 5 inches. This on the pair of colossi is 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, which would make the great colossus four or five times the height, or between a foot less and 17 feet more than the height already deduced, 92 feet. Another indication is the largest cartouche on the stones built into the pylon; this is 36 inches wide, while cartouches on the pair of colossi are $8\frac{1}{2}$ wide; thus suggesting a scale of four and a quarter times the size, or just the 92 feet above stated.

The back pilaster was unusually slight for a figure of such size, just as the base was thinner than would be proportionate. This shows that the sculptors were running as close to their material limits as they could venture. As the figure alone was thirteen times the height of an ordinary man, its weight, if there were no additions, would be 440 tons; but to this must be added the bulk of clothing around the thighs, the slab joining the legs, the juncture of the arms to the body, the base, the back pilaster, and the crown, all of which, on a modest computation, would equal the weight of the figure itself; and when we also consider the general breadth and heaviness of Egyptian forms, and the various filled-up angles, etc., we can hardly write the whole weight as under 900 tons.

We will now give a brief catalogue of the various fragments, stating the dimensions in inches:—(1) Part of the side of the crown, the ear, and back pilaster (Plan, 35); 50 high, 58 wide, and 46·5 from back to front; the centre of the ear is 26 from the front of the pilaster, which is 16·5 thick; the pilaster does not project on either side of the crown, so that the block was built in easily in later times, only needing the ear to be cut flat. This lies on the east face of the south side of the pylon. (2) A piece between the middle part of the upper right arm and the chest; the angle at which the two surfaces join the intermediate flat space, shows what this is by comparison with other colossi; block 56 long. (3) Part of a curved surface, between the pilaster and back of the shoulder (?), 31×14. (4) Piece of a curved surface, between arms and body (?), 15×55. (5) Part of the shoulder (?), 37×42. (6) Part of the back pilaster, and of the left thigh, covered with ribbed dress (proving that the colossus was standing), with part of the rise towards the mass held in the left hand (Plan, 12); the ribs of the clothing are 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, which is proportionate to those on life-size statues; the block is $47\times39\times61$, and shows the slightness of the back pilaster, which is but 10 to 12 wide, and does not project beyond the side of the figure, part of which has been cut away to make it flush with the edge of the pilaster for building. The back of the pilaster has been turned outwards in using it for building, and bears the cartouches and bust of Sheshonk III. receiving the *ankh* to his lips from some deity. (7) Part of the slab joining the legs (Plan, 37), with a trace of the back edge of the dress shown; block, $90\times49\times28$. (8) Part of same slab (?), polished face, slightly curved, 30×21. (9) Large block, with a scrap of old polish on it, flat, 7×12. (10) Block with a polished face, 25×10, slightly curved. (11) Part of outer side of left lower leg (Plan, 32), $73\times47\times22$. (12) Part of leg and instep, $46\times38\times23$: the half-width of the leg 24 back to front, and 19 side to side. This gives the proportion of 14 and 18 times the natural size respectively, thus even exceeding the previous estimates; but the ankles are always thick and clumsy in Egyptian work, as in the modern

fellah. (13) Part of the ankle-bone, built into the pavement of the pylon. (14) The upper part of the foot (Plan, 23), a block 54 wide, 60 long, and 27 to 36 thick. (15) The toes of the right foot (Plan, 24) as already described. Most probably a great part of the blocks of the pylon are cut out of the statue, as the majority of such pieces would not have outside surfaces left on them, by which they could be identified. Certainly the blocks of the pavement in front of the pylon are curved away on the lower side, in a manner which suggests that they also are fragments of the colossus.

Thus we have here recovered some notion of what must have been the glory of the capital of the Delta, towering above all the surrounding buildings, a figure seen for miles across the plains, as the sign of the power and magnificence of the great Ramessu; a colossus unsurpassed by any monolith of previous or later times.

29. The next most important figures were two that stood on either side in front of the pylon (Plan, 7 and 9); at least, in the arrangement of Sheshonk III., and most probably also in the original plan of Ramessu II. These colossi were cut in red granite, and measured 221 inches high for the figure, 42 more for the crown, and 45 for the pedestal; in all 308 inches, or $25\frac{2}{3}$ feet. They were inscribed down each side, on the back of the pilaster, and around the base. So far as these inscriptions remained legible and accessible, they are given in Nos. 32 and 33. These colossi are now weathered and broken; the northern one is in three parts, and the southern in four. The northern figure has on the inner side of the slab between the legs one of the sons of Ramessu, and on the outer side one of his wives, but the inscriptions are gone. The southern statue has also a female figure on the outer side, but the inner side is buried, and to cut away the earth would ensure the block falling over. The fragments of inscriptions seen on the base are only the usual titles.

A more interesting set of colossi are the two pairs in the temple, carved in sandstone. They are of the usual stumpy school of Silsileh, but the inscriptions are of value. The southern figure of the eastern pair (Plan, 68) is the most complete; the lower legs, the thighs, the body, and head, and the upper part of the crown, are the several parts which would fit with scarcely any loss. On the chest is the beautifully arranged pectoral plate (35 B); on the right shoulder the cartouche (35 A); on the belt the unusual name of the monument, *Ra messu ur mennu*, given in (35C); on the base the end of an inscription (35 F); on the outer side of the slab connecting the legs the inscription (35 E), accompanying a figure of Bataanta (Königsbuch), or Bant-anta (Wiedemann), his beloved daughter, who accompanies him at Abu Simbel, Silsileh, and Karnak; and on the inner side of this slab the inscription 35 D, with the figure of his other daughter Amenmerit apparently.

The northern statue of the eastern pair (Plan, 69) is more injured, and the head is lost; it has on the belt the inscription 36 A, with the less usual name *Ra user ma meri ma*. If this be an error, it is noticeable that the only other mistake I have seen was also on sandstone, the reversal of the *su* on the obelisk built into the pylon, but in that case the error was corrected. On the back of the statue is the inscription 36 C; and on the slab, between the legs, on the inner side, the inscription 36 B and the figure of his wife Maatnoferu, daughter of the chief of the Khita.

Of the southern statue of the western pair only fragments remain (Plan, 54); on these is the pectoral plate 37 A; the cartouche on the shoulder, 37 B; and the broken inscription 37 C, with a figure of his daughter Bant-anta, like that on the southern statue of the eastern pair. The northern statue of the west pair is entirely destroyed, only a few shapeless pieces of stone remaining.

These colossi were all of one size and work, and from the most complete we may see that

they were 239 inches high in the figure, with 26 inches of base, and about 62 inches of crown; 327 inches, or 27¼ feet, over all.

30. There are also some lesser statues of Ramessu II. One is in grey granite, with very large crystals of felspar (Plan, 81); the head is lost, and the legs are broken; on the back is the inscription 38 A, and on the girdle the name 38 B. The figure is 82 inches high to the shoulder, standing.

Another original statue of Ramessu was a seated figure, in black granite (Plan, 82). On the back is the inscription 39 A; a fragment of the cartouches, 39 B, on the side; and on the girdle the cartouche 39 C. This figure is much broken; the top of the head, the chest, and the body to the knees, being all separate. Another statue was standing; but only the base and right foot of that remains, bearing the inscriptions 40.

The most remarkable statue is one in grey granite, of fine quality and work (Plan, 75); it represents a figure kneeling, with one knee forward, and the other leg stretched out behind (Pl. xiv. 3): probably it originally held an altar in front. Though no cartouche remains (the only inscription being that around the base, 41 A, C, D), we shall not be far wrong in attributing it to Ramessu II.; the heavy sandals and the style of the work show that it does not belong to the earlier ages, while the execution fell off so rapidly in Merenptah's and the later statues, that it can hardly be dated after Ramessu II. Osorkon II. has added his cartouche upon the shoulder, 41 B.

A bust of a red granite statue, in a very weathered state, is lying at the eastern end of the temple (Plan, 269). It belongs to Ramessu II. apparently by the fragment of inscription, No. 41.

There is a curious group also in a very weathered condition, representing a king in front of a hawk, which folds its wings over him on either side in protection (Plan, 67). This is broken in two, and no trace of inscription can be seen.

Another piece without inscription is the fine head of Ramessu II., in pink granite, well polished (Plan, 83). This formed part of a group of a deity protecting the young Ramessu, as a hand of large size remains behind the head (pl. xiv. 2).

At San, as at Tell el Maskhuta, and other places, there was a great triad carved in a single block of granite (Plan, 10). The three gods are, however, standing at San, and not seated, as in the triad at Tell el Maskhuta (Pithom), and that from there now at Ismailiyeh. The block measures 12 ft. 6 in. high, 7 ft. 7 in. wide, and averages with the figures 3 ft. 1 in. thick; so that it weighs about 22 tons. Unhappily the heads of the figures are injured, and the block has tipped forward, and rests on other stones, so that it could scarcely be safely dug out in the front. The inscription on the outer (west) edge is 43 A, and on the back 43 B; the other edge is close to the pylon wall, and the base is buried. It was placed by Sheshonk III. with its face to the north, in a line with the south side of the entrance of the pylon; but this can hardly have been its original place, as the inscription, being all round, seems to show that it was free-standing, and not with one edge against a wall.

31. The obelisks of San are all broken, some into many pieces. The first pair met with are those at the end of the hall of columns (Plan, 42, 47). The inscriptions on these are given in Nos. 44, 45; the north obelisk was the last one left standing at San, and does not appear to have been overthrown until the middle ages, as the Roman stratum is far beneath it. The next pair of obelisks that remains (passing over the single one (49) in Plan, which we shall notice presently) are (57, 58) in Plan, the inscriptions of which are given in Nos. 46, 47. One of these, the part of (58) lying across the axis, has been cut up in later times; all one side is faced away, a row of holes, apparently to key in rods of wood or metal, has been made along that side, and another, and mortar is in the hollows of the hieroglyphs. The

next pair, marked (59, 76) in Plan, have the inscriptions 48, 49, with a scene of Ramessu offering white bread to Amon-Ra, remaining on the base of one side. The single obelisk (49 in Plan), the fellow to which has entirely disappeared, is one of the finest, and best preserved; and the buried side, on which it rests, is the most weathered side. It lies on a deep mass of limestone chips, derived from the destruction of the buildings which surrounded it. The last pair of great obelisks in the temple are (62 and 77) in Plan, which bear the inscriptions 51 and 52. A very curious point about the southern obelisk, is that there are traces of an erased inscription of Ramessu II. upon it; portions of a cartouche (*Ra ..... sotep .. ra*) can be traced, and also of the personal name in the lines of the *messu*. This is not merely a trial outlining afterwards abandoned, but a deeply-cut inscription which has been wholly cleared away. It shows that the Ramesside rage for alteration even extended to works only just finished. With regard to all these obelisks, we may note that (49) in Plan had no metal cap, being plain to the end; neither had No. (57). No. (58) has a sunk surface all over the top, ·55 in. below the rest of the pyramidion, and extending downward until the pyramidion is 25 inches wide; this was doubtless to fit on a cap of metal flush with the general surface. It is singular that this evidence of a cap should remain, while the fellow obelisk (57) is quite smooth to much nearer the apex. Nos. (77, 59) and (62) are all smooth on the apex, and (76) is broken away. On the bases of all these obelisks there is, very slightly cut, unpolished, the cartouches of Ramessu II., each with *nub* beneath, but without titles above them. Some of the obelisks have had pieces of sheet iron put under one side of the base; these still stick to them as masses of rust. This was doubtless done to remedy any want of level or squareness in the base of the obelisk; and by shifting the iron more or less toward the centre the amount of remedy could be adjusted. Strange to say, I could not find any trace of iron on the base-blocks of these obelisks; possibly some other metal or softer material was put between the obelisk and the block, to prevent the weight scaling the granite if the obelisk rested on one edge. These pieces of iron may be seen on obelisks No. 49 Plan (two pieces) and No. 59 (three pieces about 3 inches across). At the eastern end of the temple are two obelisks (271, 276 Plan) without any scenes at the lower end; the inscriptions are Nos. 53 and 54.

Of smaller obelisks there have been a pair (117, 136 Plan) cut out of older obelisks by Ramessu II. Some subsequent king in turn has utilised these, cutting away the edges of them to fit in later building. The traces of the old inscription are given already (21A, 21B inscript.), and the Ramesside inscription is given in inscripts. 55 (117 Plan) and 59 (136 Plan). Pieces of an obelisk of sandstone, the only one known at San, I found in the core of the pylon wall (27 Plan). The inscription is No. 56: it is curious for an error of the sculptor, who has reversed the *su* and afterwards turned it right. The portions of Ramesside obelisks, which were probably cut out of older obelisks, judging by their appearance, are found at 168 Plan (inscript. 57), 167 Plan (inscript. 58), and 163 Plan (inscript. 60); these all have curved pyramidions and dovetailed apices. Another early obelisk, stolen by Ramessu II., is seen at 261 Plan; the original inscription of this is given in inscript. 13, and the Ramesside in inscript. 61. This has been re-used again at a later time, as is shown by the erasure of one side, and the dovetails cut in the stone. It is of fine-grained dark red granite, one of the most beautiful pieces in the place. A small obelisk of Ramessu II. lies at 241 in Plan, the inscription of it is given inscript. 62; it is in dark red granite with a good deal of black. Two sides of the base of an obelisk (79 Plan) bear inscriptions 63A, 63B; most of the bases are so much weathered that scarcely anything remains legible. The peculiar grooves are found on the upper sides of the bases in every

case: see 45, 46, 50, 56, 78, 79, 175, 273 and 277 in Plan.

Besides the obelisks, there are two pillars bearing inscriptions. The most important (244 Plan) has sixteen groups on it of Ramessu offering to various deities (inscript. 64A, 64B, 64C, 64D). The varied head-dresses of the king are noticeable; they are marked in the copies here. This pillar is drawn too elongated in plate xi., in order to put in all the inscriptions; it is really 203 inches long, and 40 × 41 square, or 10 cubits by 2. The other pillar is also much weathered, and only a small part of all the inscriptions can be read (No. 65); it is marked 248, 249 in Plan, and the total length was 242 inches, or 12 cubits.

This concludes the account of the monuments of which the inscriptions are published this year. It is hoped in the continuation of this memoir to publish the remainder of the inscriptions of San, which have already been entirely copied. The time required to produce these plates, renders it more suitable to divide them in two memoirs; especially as it is very unlikely that such a large mass will be waiting for publication in any other season.

CHAPTER III.

GREEK AND ROMAN TANIS, AND DISTRIBUTION OF FINDS.

32. We have now described the monuments of the great temple of San, and followed its history, as late as it can be traced. We have also noted all the particulars of the individual remains of which the inscriptions are here published; and we hope to complete the publication of all the other inscriptions in a similar manner. It now remains for us to give the detailed catalogue of the various small objects found, noting to what Museum they have been voted by the subscribers. In doing this, the finds of several objects together will first be taken, stating them in chronological order; secondly, the miscellaneous small objects which were found separately will be grouped according to the Museums to which they have been presented, with back references to previous articles given to the same Museum. Thus there will be a chronological catalogue of the groups of things that belong together; and also a catalogue arranged by the Museums in which each thing may now be found. We shall necessarily include in the catalogue the objects from other sites than San, which have been collected and presented. Of some objects the dimensions are stated in inches, always in the largest direction.

The earliest antiquities collected were a quantity of inlaying tiles and other fragments at Tel-el-Yehudiyeh, mainly from the palace of Ramessu III. These objects are so fully represented at the British Museum that not many were required there. Those selected for the British Museum are (1, 2) two pieces of broad coloured tile, yellow and blue, palace of Ramessu III.; (3) pottery whistle in form of bird's head, same site but perhaps later; (4) part of large grey granite bowl, date unknown; (5) pieces of crucible, with copper slag in it—this is of rough red-brown pottery; (6—20) flint flakes and core, flakes partly worked, two pieces of flint saw much worn, probably late, Roman?; (21) hammer of fossil wood, usual spheroidal type, but material unusual, Roman?; (22) handle of amphora, inscribed *BPOMAI*; (23) part of figure of Venus in rude brown pottery; (24) base of a vase in black pottery, with ornament of incised dots in lines, Roman?; (25—32) draughtsmen made of broken pottery, ground around the edges to a circular form, some pierced; (33—40) various cups, &c. of red and brown pottery, late. (The bulk of the fragments from the palace of Ramessu III. were sent to Liverpool, 100 pieces in all, of rosettes, pieces of figures and drapery in glazed tile and alabaster, small pieces of glass for inlaying, &c. To Bristol, 8 rosette tiles and pieces, pieces of red glass for inlaying, and 5 alabaster vessels and pieces. To Charterhouse School, 7 pieces of tile. To Boston, 11 pieces of alabaster, rosettes, &c. In all, 172 specimens.)

33. As old, and probably older, is the bronze window-lattice, of which I found a quantity of pieces in the earth which had been dug out of the large chambers at Tel-el-Maskhutah in the year previous to my visit. No window-lattice has been preserved to us from ancient Egypt before, and hence this is not only of interest from the place where it was found, but is also an object new to our collections; a quantity of the bronze nails were also recovered. Unhappily, it has been all broken in small pieces by the workmen in digging, though it was apparently found as large complete sheets of lattice. The form seems to have been imitated from a wooden lattice like that in use in Egypt in the present time (see bottom left-hand object in frontispiece): the model was first cut, and then moulds for casting the bronze were taken from it. The shape was apparently in long horizontal strips, as much top and bottom edge, but scarcely any side edge, was found. These strips were probably placed over openings between the top of the wall and the eaves of the roof, as the early mastabas and temples are thus lighted by long horizontal slits, and such a position would be best for ventilation and keeping out sunlight. (Of the fragments found, 35 go to the British Museum, and a piece of the charred beam of the roof; 7 to Boston; and others to Bristol, Bolton, Geneva, York, Liverpool, and the Charterhouse School.)

Besides these, I found in the earth thrown out in a superficial excavation at Tell-el-Maskhutah a large number of fragments of a wall scene representing a divinity, and two figures of Nekht-har-hebi; of these the face of one is perfect (see pl. xii. 7), and there is a portion of the body and foot of the same figure; of the other figure of the king there is the crown of Lower Egypt, parts of the arm and knee, and part of the cartouche; while of the figure of a god, there are the two arms and fragments of the body and a knee. There are also a quantity of fragments of a representation of a table of offerings, inscriptions, &c., in all 69 pieces. These are set in a slab all together, in the British Museum. Besides these, the British Museum has from here a curious slab of limestone, much weathered, with the regular carving of a false door on it, so common in the tombs of the old kingdom. Now no sculptures before those of Ramessu II. have hitherto been found here; but this suggests that there were earlier remains here, with tombs. A fragment of brilliantly polished black granite probably belonged to a fine figure of Ptah, of which I saw pieces lying about; and a piece of sandstone or quartzite which belonged to some large work of Ramessu II., and bears an ibis and part of a cartouche. Some samples of late glass and pottery, a piece of very hard white inlaying (a silicate of lime, or else magnesite ?), and a coin, complete what I brought from Tell-el-Maskhutah, and are all in the British Museum.

34. In clearing out the sand between the stones in the sanctuary at San, several pieces of the blue or green glazed tablets of Pisebkhanu were found, and one entire tablet. These tablets are formed of sand coated with a poor glaze, and they have cracked up very much in the process of baking, so much so that the makers daubed in a blue paste into the cracks to hide them. The tablets are $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, inscribed with the name of Pisebkhanu in black. (The perfect tablet goes to the British Museum, and pieces to Bristol, Liverpool, and Boston.) Also a piece of a small tablet (in British Museum) with the prenomen of Pisebkhanu was found; it is made of granite powder cemented together, but not apparently burnt. This curious material realizes at last the many dreams of Egyptian granite being a "fictitious stone." Specimens of these, and other varieties of tablets, were found by Mariette in clearing the temple, and are now in Bulak.

35. In some exploratory diggings at Tell Farun I found a few things, and I also purchased some there. Bristol receives 5 scarabs, in hardstone, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, 3 of half inch; Isis, Nebhat, Tahuti, Neit, $\frac{7}{8}$ in., a Tat and square, all of lapis lazuli; eye in brown hæmatite, head-rest in a silicate crys-

talized in a matrix of hæmatite; scarab, with Ma and ape; scarab, with Ra (blue glaze, on fawn-coloured base); papyrus sceptre in white beryl; scarab, cat, and ring in green pottery; Tat, green pottery, 4 inches long; pottery sacred eyes, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.; plaque of green pottery, oblong, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long (these are found in various places, object unknown); 7 beads, &c.; 4 coins, Greek and Roman; bronze nail. All these objects (excepting the coins) I should refer to about the twenty-eighth dynasty by their appearance, but the scarabs may be older. Bolton receives two stone scarabs $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. and $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Nebhat and Tahuti, lapis lazuli; double ring of green pottery, with winged Isis (?) on the bezils.

36. In the course of similar diggings at Tell Sueilin, near San, a quantity of sacred eyes and other small objects were found, which I should attribute to the twenty-sixth dynasty, and perhaps on to the Greek period. A few things I also purchased there. Of these the British Museum takes a large green eye, one of the finest known, but cracked, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.; another eye in blue pottery, pierced pattern, with three other eyes in the border, and figures of a goddess, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long; 12 various eyes; a quadruple eye; 7 eyes on square plaques, with the names or figures of deities on the reverse (see pl. xii.), Sekhet (No. 15), Uati (No. 16), Hathor (17), Bark of Ra (18), Nebhat (19), Neit (21), and Ra (22); square of bright hard blue paste, $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; cat seated, with kitten between fore-paws, blue porcelain 1 inch high, good work; head of Hathor and snakes in blue paste; Ptah, Isis and Horus, and cat, green pottery, small; an unknown bronze object, apparently intended to fasten on a wooden staff, forking into two rods at the end, connected by a cross bar; it is not broken off at either end, and the only supposition is that it is the end of a *tam* sceptre, forking at the base, and with a junction piece of the casting not cut away; it is $6\frac{7}{8}$ in. long. Of other things from Sueilin, Bristol has 4 scarabs, (*nofer* in a border of circles (early?), hunting scene, kheper and uræus serpent, and palm branch, late); Horus, Horus and serpents, Isis, Shu, hawk, libation bucket, ring with eye on it, 28 sacred eyes, and draughtsman, all in blue or green pottery; 3 cowries, silver ring, and several chips of silver merely chopped off a mass, all found with the ring; Anup, cat and ear-ring in bronze, and a lot of beads;—52 objects in all. To Bolton, 11 sacred eyes and a lot of beads. To Geneva, 10 sacred eyes. To York, 20 eyes, rosette, head of Hathor, cowries, beads, &c. To Liverpool, 20 sacred eyes, and cat. To Charterhouse School, 5 eyes. To Boston, 26 sacred eyes, 2 cowries, 6 beads, scarab, tablet of Mut, Nebhat, and Hathor, broken; Bes; pendant; head of Hathor. Besides these, a quantity are left in reserve. The greater part of these sacred eyes were found buried together within a few square yards, at about three feet below the surface; they were scattered through the sand irregularly, and seem to have been placed for a general sanctification of the ground, as were the bronzes of Osiris found buried in the Typhonic sand beneath temples. Miscellaneous burials had been made in the sand above the eyes. Many of these eyes are of a very fine make, well glazed, hard, not porous, and of dark blue, green, and black colouring.

37. The next find in point of date was at San, in house No. 20, marked G in Plan. This house was built against the inside of the temple-wall. Within it, scattered about, were several objects, most of which had been burnt. The fire, however, seemed not to have been general in the house, and to have occurred when it was deserted, as the reddening was only in one layer, and that above the floor-level, on a slope. It seems as if the house had been ruined, and partly filled up, and then that a quantity of things were all brought to it and burnt there. This suggests that these things were looted from some adjacent place; but if so, it is strange that four silver figures should have been left behind. By some finger-bones and

a tooth found, it looks as if a tomb had been rifled, and the contents brought here to sort over; after which, all that was not wanted was burnt, having been knocked about, and partly broken. The date of this find I should attribute to about the thirtieth dynasty. The style of the figures is very fine, better than anything except the twenty-sixth or thirtieth dynasty; the light blue colour and work preventing our putting it to the earlier times, and the excellence of it showing that it is not Ptolemaic. Also no Ptolemaic coins were found here, and the papyri were all demotic. As a piece of Greek black pottery was found with it, this brings it below the twenty-sixth dynasty; and altogether, I think we can hardly err in dating it to the artistic revival under Nekht-neb-f. Tanis was certainly important under his reign, as he resided there, and was beseiged in the town. The style of the sacred eyes also, which are the roughest things found here, borders on the Ptolemaic work. This find is numbered 20, on all objects or labels belonging to it.

To begin with metal, four silver figures were found (see pl. xii.), two of Bes (No. 43), one of Horus (No. 41), and one of Hathor? (No. 42). Boston takes one Bes and Horus. Such images are very rare; no silver of Bes was known at Bulak, and there are no such figures in the Louvre. Fragments of gold foil were found, apparently from some plated object. In bronze, six capitals, probably of some shrine, were obtained (see pl. xii., No. 50): two go to Boston. Charred wood was in these when dug up. A corner of a frame, socketed to hold wooden bars, a piece of furniture, with late Egyptian moulding; cast bronze, 2 in. high. A small base of a pillar(?), armlet, thick bronze, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. diam.; 6 nails, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. Bronze arrow head, ring, handle with staples, 4 staples, cat $\frac{3}{4}$ high, and various pieces. A large figure of Bes in bronze was kept at Bulak. Iron knives were also found; (one long one and two shorter go to Boston, others to British Museum). An iron spear-head, a broad iron ring, or circular band, perhaps an anklet, and 3 iron nails. A piece of lead, object unknown. Of pottery there were many figures of fine work, executed in a sort of stoneware, very hard all through, and not thickly glazed on the surface. These figures are Tahuti, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high (broken and burnt anciently); Isis and Horus, a charming piece, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; Horus, Tahuti, Harpekroti, Khnum, Shu, and Crocodile, a set $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. high; a monkey of this set is kept at Bulak; the Harpekroti is particularly good: scarab, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with legs beneath; lion, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 6 uræus serpents, $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. high: (two kept at Bulak, and two for British Museum;) papyrus sceptre, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; Taur and Tahuti, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.; crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Bull, ram, rabbit, Khnum, Shu, Taur, and papyrus sceptre (broken), $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, a set in bright green pottery; lion and monkey, (kept at Bulak). Shu and pig, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. each; 8 eyes, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. to 1 in.; Taur, white crumbling pottery, eyes and uræi; bowl in green hard pottery, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam.; plaque of green pottery, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in.; jar of green pottery, with very narrow neck, and handle broken off, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; pair of kohl-pots, a funerary imitation; a clay figure of Taur holding girdle-tie, broken, 2 in. high. In stone there is a Taur in hæmatite; a larger Taur in hæmatite, (kept at Bulak); part of Isis and Horus in syenite; part of a bowl in black shale (?); 3 figures in limestone: these belong to a class rather rudely cut, painted a brilliant red, and often of gross types; such are found in early Ptolemaic sites, and are an additional reason for placing this house in the thirtieth dynasty. Also a little square box, and minute tablet in limestone. In alabaster, a kohl-pot, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, with charred remains inside it, and bronze kohl stick, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. In glass, a part of a circular tray of orange-coloured glass, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. diam.; a cast piece of light green glass (aqua-marine) with facets cast, the mould being from a cut gem; a small blue glass bead; part of an obsidian vase, turned inside and out; a drill core in alabaster; a scrap of Phoenician glass; clay impression of a seal belonging to a priest of Anup; some resin; two seeds cut up as beads; 6 pieces of ivory objects, a box (?)

and a little papyrus sceptre of wood with ivory head; a scrap of black lustrous Greek pottery, and a piece of fine bright red pottery; four finger-bones, and a human tooth. All the above objects go to Boston, unless otherwise stated.

Besides these, a few duplicates from this house go to the British Museum. The silver Bes, and Hathor (?); two of the bronze capitals; two iron knives; pieces of green pottery bowls; two serpents; 4 pottery eyes; 3 bronze staples; from the objects mentioned above. Besides these, also the following: Isis and Horus, 3 in. high in pottery; head of Tahuti; Horus from a group; scarab, with legs, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long; Taur; crocodile; all in pottery; and a seated ape, in unburnt clay, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, like the Taur in clay sent to Boston. Another bronze capital goes to Liverpool, and another—the sixth—to Bolton, besides one kept at Bulak. There were also many papyri, and pieces of a writing-case with the reeds, all burnt, found here.

38. Next the finds of Ptolemaic period must be described. The principal objects have not yet been brought to England, so that their distribution cannot be yet stated, but a brief outline may be here given. In the mound of ruins on the north side of the western roadway to the temple at San a small shrine or chapel of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoë II. was found. This consisted of a chamber built of crude brick, in the west wall of which was a recess. At the back of the recess was a stele in limestone ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, 20 in. wide, 10 in. thick), representing Ptolemy and Arsinoë in long Greek dress, adoring Khem, Uati, and Har, the triad of San at that time (see pl. xv. 3.); above the group was the *hut*, and columns of inscription denoting the several figures. This whole scene was gilt, but the gilding was entirely lost in a few weeks after its discovery by the efflorescence of salt. Below this scene the tablet was painted with a fringe pattern of red and blue stripes. On each side of the recess was a sphinx (see pl. xv. no. 4.) in limestone, placed with one side against the wall; the sphinxes facing towards each other. These sphinxes had evidently been taken from some earlier building. In the first place, they lay with the tail-side, which should be outward, placed to the wall; the reason of this plainly being that they were damaged on that side and not on the other, which was placed outward in their later position. These sphinxes are 29 in. long, and 18 in. high. They are of late style, like the sphinxes of the Serapeum, or that found by the great sphinx of Gizeh by Caviglia. Most likely they belong to some work erected here by Nekht-neb-f, of whom there is a very similar sphinx in the Louvre, and who resided at San, as I have before remarked. Another sphinx, like these, but headless, was found not far from here, as will be mentioned further on.

In front of this shrine there lay on the ground a group of other tablets, and a figure of a king. This statue probably represents Ptolemy II. in Egyptian dress: it is of late and clumsy workmanship (see pl. xv. no. 5.), and was anciently broken in two parts. It is 22 inches high. The finest of the small tablets is one representing Ptolemy and Arsinoë in Egyptian dress, facing each other: he appears to hold a thunderbolt. This tablet is 14×17 inches. A larger tablet, of very rude work, represents a king, probably Ptolemy II., and Arsinoë, standing before Khem, Horus, and Uati. This has no inscription. There are also two small tablets of Hapi, uninscribed; a small tablet of a deceased person before Osiris, with a demotic inscription below, which seems to have been partly ground out; two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, which had been taken from some other figures, to which they were originally fixed by pegs: all these were of limestone. Also part of a foot of a Greek statue in marble, which had likewise been fixed into a figure by a peg, was found with the above.

39. Another tablet, similar to the largest, was found just on the water-shed at the south end of the

valley that runs southward from the pylon (pl. xv. 2). It was standing on end; near it was a headless sphinx, like those found with the large tablet; but no more trace of sculpture or stone was found in making a wide clearance around that spot. Except a part of a very rude figure of Taur in limestone, which must have been about 22 in. high, the tablet represents Ptolemy II., in Egyptian dress, offering land to Khem and Arsinoë on one side of the scene; and another figure of Ptolemy offering to Har and Uati on the other side. The *hut* is nearly weathered away, and the whole tablet is not so clean, is rather smaller, and is in worse condition than the large tablet just described, which is perfect.

40. The above were the finest remains of Ptolemaic age; but an important discovery was that of the site of the Ptolemaic temple, to which I was guided by seeing slag of burnt limestone lying on the ground. In the valley, beyond the south side of Pisebkhanu's great wall, I sank several pits; and one of these, about south of the sanctuary, came down upon a large block of limestone, which bore an inscription and figures of a king, of Isis, and of Horus, on one side. That the king is a Ptolemy, and probably early, is all that I could make out, as the cartouches are much weathered. This block rested on some rubbish just over a pavement of limestone blocks, and all the stuff over it for a depth of some feet consisted mainly of chips of limestone. Though I excavated for about 20 feet in three directions from it, I found no more blocks, except a square block of red granite unsculptured. That this is the site of the Ptolemaic temple can hardly be doubted, as the pavement proves that some important building stood here; the block shows that it was Ptolemaic, and no Ptolemaic temple is known elsewhere at San.

At some 150 feet or so to the east of this, another pit was sunk, which came down in the thickness of a wall of crude brick. Though hard to cut, such is excellent ground for shaft-sinking, as it is so firm that it can be cut vertically. This wall ended at just the level of the pavement (within 4 inches, which is as close as I levelled it), and hence it seems to be the peribolus wall of the temple. If so, the temple area extended for 50 or 100 yards. This must be further examined in future. I may also say that below this Ptolemaic brick wall there was 3 feet of mud, and below that 8 feet depth of an older wall, resting on the sand island or *gezireh*, just as the wall of Pisebkhanu does.

41. A house, which seems to belong to the early Ptolemaic times, was cleared out at the east end of the north wall of the temple (Find No. 24). It was built upon some accumulated mud, against the inside of the great wall (F in Plan). The best thing found there was an unfinished kneeling statue in limestone, holding a table of offerings; it has part of the flat side of the block with the canon lines remaining on one side; and the other side is almost completed, the toes being worked in detail. This is now at Bulak. Near it was found a foot in limestone, with sculptor's lines on the base; this never belonged to a statue, but was a sculptor's trial piece, like the fine set of figures found by Mariette at San. A scarab and wings in red pottery was made by merely impressing a carving on the clay, and then modelling legs to the scarab. A small piece of orange-coloured glass has the *ankh* and *ka* combined on it in relief; such is unusual. Of blue and green pottery many small articles were found, 2 lions, 3 eyes, head of Mentu-Ra (almost like figures of Roman age), a cat, Nefertum, and Ptah. Also a bit of an eye and another scarab in blue glass. A couple of Ptolemaic coins show the age of the house, and it is what would be expected from the objects; the style of the kneeling figure belongs to Ptolemaic or earlier times; the flat polished sacred eyes, in one piece of coloured glass, are found always in the Ptolemaic period; and the earlier suggestion of the statue is balanced by the late style of the head of Mentu.

(All these objects except the statue are in the British Museum). Another house, of apparently the same age, is built similarly against the inside of the great wall, but on the south side of the temple (see Plan K). These houses being built in the old temple area in Ptolemaic times, exactly agrees with the discovery of the Ptolemaic temple outside of that area, which would be then half filled with mud, and left unattended to. This house seems also to have belonged to a craftsman, who was a painter rather than a sculptor (Find No. 25). Three pieces of designing tablets were found here; slabs of limestone, ruled in squares, and one of them much worn. These were doubtless for drawing designs by free hand, to be afterwards transferred square for square to the painting in progress. Two of the colours were found that were used; a slab of schist having red ochre ground upon it, and a piece of a pot having blue silicate of copper in it. Two scraps of fritted copper silicate were also found. Some scraps of flat glass have traces of gilding on them, and show a Greek wave-border. Part of an eye in flat orange glass was found; and another sacred eye, of very unusual style, with the eye, &c., inlaid in red, blue, and white glass, cut to shape, and fitting in a green glass basis. Several rude blue *shabti* were found, all broken but one; also a convex disc of green pottery with three holes in the edge—this is a common form, and seems as if to sew on to mummy cloth. A good crocodile in green pottery was with these; it has remarkably long ears. A Rhodian jar-handle inscribed ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟ . . . is of the usual light-brown ware. Some Ptolemaic coins fix the age of this house. (All these objects go to the British Museum, except a piece of the squared slab to York, and another piece and also a *shabti* to Bristol.)

42. The long ridge of mounds running north and south, on the west side of the temple enclosure, seems to be all of Greek age on the upper part. The Ptolemaic chapel was found there on the northern part of the ridge, and on the southern part, on which my house stood, the Ptolemaic houses could be traced all over it. Some of these I cleared, but only one of them was of value. I had cleared out the upper room, and the cellar of the house was just being finished, when in one corner a jar was found, with a stone on the top of it. Within the jar was a large mass of silver chain, weighing seventeen and a half ounces; it had been a flexible wire chain apparently, but now was set into a single mass by the chlorination of the silver; it was thick in the middle, and thinned to about half the size toward the ends. With it was a necklet of silver beads, composed of globules soldered together, in an hexagonal pile of double thickness (see pl. xii. 27, 28), and some flat hexagonal beads which were probably strung between these (fig. 26). Also a gold ring with two serpents' heads (pl. xii. 29), weighing about ninety grains; it is made of sheet gold beaten up for the body of the serpent, convex outside and concave inside, and the turns of the coil are just touched together with gold solder: the heads are chased with a graver. In the same jar was a necklace of stone beads, onyx, garnet, agate, green turquoise, lapis lazuli, and coral, in all twenty-one inches long. The garnets are of the finest colour and transparency, and the onyxes are very good; coral is scarcely known in ancient jewellery. Besides these objects (which all go to the British Museum, except the large silver chain now at Bulak) a few small things were found in the house (Find 54); namely, a bronze kohl-stick six inches long; a bronze weight of the usual Egyptian form, but filled with lead—the lead has now oxidized, burst the bronze, and mainly dissolved away as chloride and carbonate; a part of an iron nail; a lid of a small vase in blue pottery, now faded; and four Ptolemaic coins;—all now in the British Museum. This completes the catalogue of this house. From the jewellery being hidden thus in the cellar, and never having been removed, it seems as if the mistress of the house had fled in great haste, not having had time to bury her treasure, yet not daring to carry it with her for fear of being robbed. She

never returned to fetch it, for the house was not burnt, but gradually fell to decay, standing desolate, with the pot of jewellery in the corner of the empty cellar slowly being buried in the dust and mud swept in by the weather.

43. About the Ptolemaic period, judging by the style of the objects, are the remains found in the north end of the long low Tell adjoining San on the south side. There are many remains of houses, and in Roman times the place was used for a cemetery. A little north of the cemetery district a few things were found (Find 56) :—a pendant of black flint, roughly ground and pierced; a scarabæoid with a conventional lotus twist, which may be earlier; several little figures, two Ptahs, two apes, four eyes, a ram, two Basts, two Muts, a little pendant scarab, a lot of beads—all of green pottery, rather rudely made; also a pointed flat piece of bone, much polished on the edge from use. All these are in the British Museum.

A house of late Ptolemaic period was cleared, on the south side of the eastern gap in the mounds. A very good small bronze of Ptah, gilt, was found there, one and three-quarter inches high; also a square eye plaque with name of Uati, very thick and coarse; a flat blue glass eye polished; some bone pins, a bronze ring, a handle of bronze wire, a Ptolemaic coin, &c. (Find 23.)

Another small lot of things of about the same age was obtained in sinking a pit on the south-west of the pylon. Here we found a very good terra-cotta figure (five and a half inches high) of Harpokrates holding a cornucopiæ, and seated on a swan. The figure is an impression from a fine mould, and has been touched up by hand on the face with good effect. Near it was a piece of an iron sickle, a small burnisher of syenite, and a quantity of small Ptolemaic coins. (Find 32.)

An important house, that belongs to the end of the Ptolemaic times, was cleared a short way north of the pylon; and much pottery was obtained from a neighbouring house of the same age, but that remains to be brought over. In this house, marked M on the Plan, everything had been burnt. The whole of the finds brought over are in the British Museum, but two large figures of Bes in terra-cotta and pieces of an ivory sun-dial will come with the rest of the pottery. In bronze there was found a small bucket-handle; a figure of Osiris $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. high; an ornament $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam.; an earring of the usual Greek bull's-head pattern, very rare in bronze (pl. xii. 45); a bronze hand $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and several Ptolemaic coins; a a piece of a gold earring with a dolphin's head was also found. In iron, a lock-plate $3\frac{1}{4}\times3$ ins.; and some nails. In glass, a piece of glass mosaic with the *tam* in white on dark blue ground (pl. xii. 44), and another piece of the same; an inlaid mosaic eye in glass, the cheek part being inlaid with stripes of squares of different mosaic patterns, all fitted into a green glass frame, with strips of white glass between the stripes—though much burnt and broken it is a fine piece; a piece of a glass bowl, ground and polished inside and outside, with a pattern of vine spray laid on in gold foil in the middle of the glass, two pieces of glass having been fused together with the foil pattern between them; a sacred eye in dark blue glass, plain, polished; a small blue glass phallus, broken; a small yellow glass head, usually known as Phœnician glass; three pieces of inlaid glass dumps: these varieties of glass are important, as showing the age of different styles and forms. In green pottery, a little plaque of Horus holding snakes and standing on crocodiles. In burnt clay, two seals (pl. xii. 13, 14). A scarab (pl. xii. 51) inscribed "priest of Tahuti." And a pin-head (?) and ring of bone. From finding quantities of Ptolemaic coins here, and in the next house, but no Roman, and from the style of the things, later in developement (iron lock-plate, glass mosaic, &c.) than in other Ptolemaic houses, as well as from the head on the seal (14), this house is probably of the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty. (Find 15.)

Another small find, which is probably Ptolemaic,

was made in the north end of the mound on which my house was built, on the southern side of the road approaching the temple. A set of bronze weights was found there 5, 2, and 1 *kat;* also an agate ring; a blue porcelain Tahuti; a blue glass bead; and a scarab (pl. xii. 9). It is very rare to get a set of weights all in one place. This lot is in the British Museum.

44. Of the Roman period there is a large number of houses, but in general the objects are not so good as in the Ptolemaic houses. The earliest Roman houses appear to be the group in the temple area (Plan, H); but these produced nothing except a coin of Agrippina the younger struck at Alexandria, and with that a figure of Bes in blue pottery, and a piece of a blue cup. These are useful as dated specimens of this ware.

Another site of early Roman age is on the west mounds, between the high Ptolemaic mound on which my house stands and the river. In the south-west mounds some digging brought to light a very fine terra-cotta of Europa on the bull: the head is lost, but the pose and swing of the work is of the best. (This is now at Bulak). Along with this was found the breasts of a figure of Bes, of fine work, in blue porcelain; a head of Ptah, with the scarab on the top in terra-cotta; an undraped female figure in terra-cotta; a cup, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, of thin bronze; small figures of a hawk and of Horus in bronze, part of a ring, and a large brass Alexandrian imperial coin; a scarab inscribed "Shu, son of Ra" (pl. xii. 52); and two small beads of polished rock crystal and carnelian. A large quantity of pottery was also found here, which remains to be brought. (Find 64.)

The great find of mid-Roman period, the house of Bak-akhuiu, we will leave aside at present, with the next house to that, as they require a fuller notice than in a mere list.

On the top of the high mound on the southern side of the gap east of the temple are many Roman houses. In one of these a large quantity of pottery was found, and with it some small objects now in the British Museum. The best thing here was the upper part ($2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high) of a marble statuette of Venus (Frontispiece, 6); below the waist it was broken anciently, and within late years the Arabs in digging had broken off the head, one arm, and the other hand; but the style of the work makes even the remaining fragment of value. The attitude has been with the head leaning to one side, the right arm raised high, and the left bent upward from the elbow, the hands holding the locks of hair, which fell down and touched the shoulders; the grace of the attitude, the delicate fullness of the contours, the folds of the skin, owing to the body being bent to one side, and the finish of the whole work, show it to have been of the best Græco-Roman style. With it were found the following objects in bone,—a turned disc (for inlaying in a box?), a turned cylinder (from a piece of furniture?), and a hair-pin with a head carved at the end; also a disc of turned wood; in glass, a piece of the bottom of a bowl with a ring foot to it, ornamented with a ground-out scroll on the inside; and a small dump of pale purple glass, stamped with a device now indistinguishable. In glazed pottery was found a curious pendant ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long) of Bast; on the upper part of it the lion's head of Bast, on the stem a standing figure of Bast in relief, and at the bottom the ægis of Bast; also a disc of green pottery, with three small holes in the edge for stitching on; a single and a quadruple sacred eye; and a draughtsman. In bronze, three Ptolemaic and early Roman coins. This find (No. 22) is interesting as showing contemporaneous objects.

At Tell Atrib (Athribis, Benha) there still remains a large mound of refuse thrown away during the second century A.D., though a vast amount has been removed from this site. In this mound I found several objects near together, and from indications I dated it as about the time of Commodus. This dating is confirmed by my finding afterwards, at San, pottery exactly similar (both red and glazed), in a house (Bakakhuiu's), which is quite independently dated in the end of the

reign of Aurelius, or within a few years of the period I had assigned to the Benha mound. The objects thus dated are, in blue glazed pottery a flat bowl, $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter, somewhat broken on the edge in two places, but otherwise in fine condition; twelve pieces of different patterns of bowls; and part of a head of Bes. There are two pieces of a rare glazed pottery, which at first sight would be called Arabic, but one has the true dark Roman blue glaze in the inside, and I found them in the mound; the ground colour is an olivy white, with patterns in light chocolate brown impressed on it. In red and brown pottery there were quantities of ribbed amphoræ, cups with re-curved edges, of which I brought three, and lamp-handles, one with conventional vine-leaf, another crescent-shaped, and another in two lobes. A female head in pottery, with the hair arranged in a broad roll around the face, gives the best clue to the age of the mound, as it is most like the style of the age of Aurelius. Of glass many fragments were found: the bottom of a glass bowl with ring-base, very clear and white, and another piece also of very fine quality, both absolutely unaltered by burial; a piece of a glass bowl with engraved vine spray and grapes on it; a piece of a conoidal glass bowl, of the form of the magnificent amber-coloured specimens in the British Museum; a piece of very thin glass flask, with a thin thread of opaque yellow glass wound round it; and three other fragments. All of these are valuable as dated examples. Beside this mound a few objects of unfixed age were found, as a bronze spear-head, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and some pieces of Roman pottery and glass, including one ostracon.

Of late Roman age, at San, there was a small house built against the east side of the house of Bakakhuiu: there I found pieces of a life-size statue in hard limestone, much broken up, (still left at San); while I brought away a jar stopper of plaster stamped with the Christian monogram, two varieties of coarse cloth, part of a wooden comb, with wide and close teeth on opposite sides, exactly such as is made now in Egypt, a little scrap of silver chain, and an oblong mass of lead, perhaps a weight, but too much carbonated and dissolved for determination. (All now in the British Museum.)

45. The tombs of Roman period at San, probably of the second and third centuries, have yielded some good objects. In the plain on the south side of the high mounds, between them and the avenue of large blocks, a few graves were found just below the surface. In one of these, with merely a board above her, but a foot from the surface, was a woman who had been buried in the rich attire she had worn during her life. Her body was swathed in several garments ornamented with woven patterns, and also a large quantity of outer wrappers of good quality (Find 63). In all twenty-one varieties of material and pattern were brought over, besides pieces of cord, of felt or loose wool, and of the long hair of the mummy: the skull will also come to England. On the body were found three hollow gold rings; two apparently earrings, with a circle of balls around one part of the ring; a new type, and therefore kept at Bulak: also a nose-ring, which was plain; pieces of a very small iron knife, and a long necklace of glass beads. The woven patterns can hardly be suitably described without drawings; suffice to say that the varieties are as follow:—(1) borders of red with white pattern, edged with purple and black; (2) white pattern in red, leaf design, large surfaces (a whole garment?); (3) white on red, circular groups with edging, sewn on the base; (4) white on scarlet, a broad strip with birds, *vis-a-vis*; (5, 6) two varieties of white on dark blue ground; (7) white and green on red ground, leaf pattern; (8) white, yellow, and blue on red ground; (9) circular group, for sewing on, of red, green, and white, with blue, yellow and red border; (10) very fine stuff, yellow, red, and white, on the ground, square design with birds and plants; (11, 12) also two forms of borders of the same with plants;

(13) violet and black, pattern of separate leaves ; (14) orange and green needlework on very coarse canvas ; (15) yellow open stuff with white bands, and ball fringe plaited ; (16) brown open stuff with white stripes and plaited border ; (17) brown open stuff with black stripes ; (18) crimson open stuff, like crape, with pink border and plaited edge ; (19) same in scarlet ; (20) canvas with blue stripe for outer wrappers ; (21) open network. (All these varieties go to the British Museum, and sets less complete to Bolton, Boston, Liverpool, Bristol, York, and Charterhouse.)

Beside this grave others were found near it. In these were a pair of bronze armlets $1\frac{3}{4}$. in diam., a twisted bronze necklet $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam., and a pair of ivory armlets (?) sent to Bristol. Bronze bracelet, twisted, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam., with hook and eye ; two ivory armlets (?) ; a set of eight ivory hair-pins, three with carved heads ; and a kohl-pot made out of a broken sistrum handle, which, from the ornament and colour, seems to belong to the thirtieth dynasty ; (sent to Liverpool). A long wooden pin, and some balls of white substance, were kept at Bulak.

In the long low Tell on the south of San many graves of Roman age were found. Most of these were without ornaments ; but one rich grave had been looted in ancient times, and the mummy and gilt case broken up, leaving only the glass mosaics and inlaying of the coffin. These mosaics comprised two pairs of wings, in blue, light blue, red, and yellow ; the larger pair and the smaller —about half the size—are identical in every particular, and both wings of each pair are alike. This proves that the mosaic was first built up on a large scale, and not very long in the grain of it, perhaps 4 or 6 inches long and about 4×1 inch section ; then this was fused, and while soft was pulled out lengthwise, thus reducing the section of the pattern, while increasing the length available for cutting up ; in this way some hundreds of inlaying pieces could be made from one block of mosaic. Beside these wings were pieces of mosaic chequer, green, yellow, black, and white ; pieces of blue, with a line of white florets with red centres ; pieces of opaque red, with yellow and black flowers in a row, and as if threaded ; pieces of black and yellow alternate ; and pieces of yellow, blue, and other colours without patterns. The inlaid glass eyes of this coffin were also found. I passed all the dust of this grave through my own hands, so as to secure all the pieces. This set is in the British Museum, and a few duplicate pieces at Bristol and Liverpool.

In another grave of this cemetery were found two gold-foil eyes for laying on the eyes of the mummy, and a tongue piece, together with a small boss with a hook behind it. As no second could be found, though all the earth was sifted, this may be a nose-jewel. This set is in the British Museum.

In other graves were found other gold-foil ornaments ; of these an eye and tongue piece go to Boston, another eye and tongue to York, and an eye and a rude figure of a flying hawk to Liverpool.

A quantity of amulets of very late style were found, cut in black limestone, white limestone, and alabaster ; the forms were scarabs, hearts, girdle-ties, eyes, plumes, fingers, and other types. Of these, Bristol has a set of 16, York 10, and Edinburgh 5.

An amber necklace, about 22 inches long, was also found in a grave here ; one-third of it—the smaller beads only—were kept at Bulak, as amber was almost or quite unknown in Egypt before. With this was also kept a small bone figure of Venus, found in the same grave.

This low mound is not more than 3 to 12 feet high, above a flat sandy strip on which it lies. Near the bottom of the accumulations two pieces of early Greek pottery were found, one a very thick globular jug of hard light brown ware, with concentric circles in red. From this it seems as if this spit of sand outside of the city had been the Greek quarter in early times ; and when abandoned after the Ptolemaic amalgamation, its heap of dust

and rubbish was used as a cemetery in the Roman period.

46. Having now described the principal finds, it remains to give a catalogue of the miscellaneous objects. In so doing they will be arranged according to the Museums to which they have been distributed; noting the larger finds already described, which go to these same Museums.

The British Museum has the whole house of Bakakhuiu (No. 35), excepting duplicates, which will be described in the next chapter; also a selection of the more important things from the adjacent house (No. 44), which will be catalogued along with Bakakhuiu's; 13 weights, the details of which will be given with the list of levels at San, &c.; and the following finds, which have been already described, in this order: Tell el Yahudiyeh; Tell el Maskhutah; Pisebkhanu's tablets; part of Sueilin objects; finds 20, 24, 25, 54, 56, 23, 32, 15; three weights, &c.; house north of sanctuary, 64, 22; Benha, outside of, 35, 63; glass mosaics, gold eyes, &c.; and amber necklace. Besides these, the following isolated objects: piece of a small measure (?) in green pottery; fish-hook, bronze, 2 in. long; blue pottery disc of Psamtik II. (pl. xii. 25), found on the surface just S.W. of the wall; amulet of Ptah, double, in the style of those found at Marathus; carnelian bead, oblong, rich colour; sacred eye in translucent obsidian, very fine; seal in form of a seated animal (pl. xii. 32) with inscription on base—this was found on the southern burial Tell; sling-stones of limestone, 2 in. long; bronze earring with mock pearl of glass; circular bronze buckle, with tongue in shape of goose's head (pl. xii. 47); bone pins, about 4 inches long, sharply pointed at one end, and roughly cut at the other; of these many thousands were found in the N.W. mounds (Ptolemaic), and these were found all in a lot in the middle of the Ptolemaic avenue of blocks; the most likely conjecture is that they were set in a board, upright, for carding flax; pieces of the polished surface of the great colossus of Ramessu II.; five ostraca; four chipped flints. Of glass, the following pieces were selected: yellow ring; 5 pieces of bangles, one with inlaid pieces of different glass; coloured dumps, 4; facetted cast bead of opaque blue; cut bead of red glass; oval piece of white, plano-convex, polished; piece of imitation alabaster; pieces of opaque inlaid patterns, 2; triangular cut bead; white ring; opaque red bead; blue oval imitation lazuli for setting; eye in clear light blue; varied beads, 9; and strips for inlaying, 15. Of pottery, there is a plano-convex knob of blue stoneware; bust of a girl with arms raised above the head, dressed in light olive with large dark brown spots, and with dark brown hair, found on the east side of the mounds in a burnt Roman house; a rosette of five knobs in blue pottery, Roman, top of E. mounds; a square plaque eye with name of Isis on reverse (pl. xii. 20); bust of Bes nursing a small Bes, in green pottery with brown spots; piece of a fine blue-green bowl, ornamented with leaves; and a piece of a throne of a statuette of the thirtieth dynasty, with the old *sam* and intertwined lotus and papyrus on the side, a case of the copying in the renascence. Of scarabs, grass green on white schist, "Ahotepu," (pl. xii. 8); white schist, hawk and emblems (pl. xii. 4); brown glaze, man with branches; browny-white "Har nefer Uati" (pl. xii. 49); loop ornament; triple scarab in greyish green on grey schist (pl. xii. 3); a domed stamp with a hand, light brown, (pl. xii. 53). Coin of Tanite Nome of Hadrian: reverse TANI LIΔ eagle. Coin of Anastasius (?), a single nummium: reverse A, unpublished. Examples of working in stone:—a piece of alabaster with saw marks, and a piece of alabaster with the outsides of large tubular drill-holes, both from Tell el Yahudiyeh, from whence other pieces of alabaster with tubular drill-holes are in the British Museum. Piece of green porphyry, Roman age, top of E. mound, San, with saw marks on the back, showing very deep scores cut by the jewelled saw teeth on the side of the cut. Small tubular drill-core in lapis lazuli. Piece of grey granite from the enclosure

at the west end of the avenue of great blocks, of Ptolemaic age, at San; this piece is apparently part of the toe of an eagle, it is highly polished and grooved across; the grooves were made by picking to begin with, and then by graving them out smooth with a jewel point. That they were not ground out is proved by the way in which, as the cutting point came to the end of the groove, it slipped out under the strong pressure applied to it, and went skidding over the polished surface, so that what should be a smooth polished face where the grooves end, is scored all over with scratches: the fineness of these scratches, not $\frac{1}{500}$ inch wide, show what a very hard jewel point, far harder than quartz, must have been used; since a point that suffered any appreciable wear would have blunted down and made a broad score. This shows, therefore, that the system of hand-graving on statues with jewelled tools (such as I observed on the statue of Khafra in Bulak, "Pyramids of Gizeh," p. 177), was continued down to Greek times; just as the use of jewelled saws, found to be general in the pyramid times, continued till the Roman age, as is shown by the piece of green porphyry above mentioned. Some natural products were picked up at San:—a large piece of laminated orpiment; several pieces of native sulphur (native sulphur I have also brought from Gebel Maryam, near Lake Timsah, found *in situ*); some pieces of an olive-green silicate; pieces of beryl, rock crystal, hæmatite, marble, chalcedony, and a silicate of copper (?) associated with quartz and pyrites: Some artificial blue silicate of copper frit was also brought. This completes the list of objects for the British Museum.

For the Boston Fine Arts Museum, in the United States, the series of objects of the thirtieth dynasty, described as find 20, have been appropriated; and also the following:—bronze Horus, inlaid gold eyes, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; sacred eye in red glass, flat, polished; 6 sacred eyes from San; samples of beads from finds 35 and 44, and several small objects already mentioned.

To the Bristol Museum the set of objects from Tell Farun, described; in bronze, a kohl-stick; Horus $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. high; sistrum head; bell; arrow-heads, 5; earring with blue glass bead; a weight of 1 kat, found with blue figure of Taur, of Ptolemaic age; staples for handles, 5; Horus, gilt; lock of hair from a Horus; rings, 3; head of Horus; cow's ear; vine-leaf; pieces of chain; bezil of a ring; feathers of a head-dress; flail of Osiris; nails, 6; a disc and horns in gold, pendant; pieces of gold foil; a piece of silver, found with a rough sacred eye in the camp at the end of the south Tell. In glazed pottery, figure of Bast, very good; draughtsmen, 2; eye with brown lines on it; eyes, various, 13; cat; sistrum head; oblong plaque and a large bead; broken figures from find 35, to show the style of that age; head of Horus; ægis of Horus from a ring; ægides of Bast, from rings, 3; crocodile; Bast; Anubis; Shu, 2; Nebhat; cowrie; serpent; scarab; Horus; Nefertum, head; Bes; head of Bes; eye and Bes, 2; eye-plaque; quadruple eye; rings, 2; and bunch of grapes. In red or brown pottery:—boy's head; moulds for eye, image, and bead; two seated figures, very rude; piece of amphora handle, ΠΟΛ . . .; pieces of labels for tying to a jar (?), one plain, the other incised with Greek, but broken. In glass:—green hexagonal bead; eye, opaque green, rough; bottle, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, found in the southern cemetery; strip of mosaic rosette pattern, lavender and yellow on white ground; square of mosaic, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch; eye, and edgings of two eyes, from a coffin; beads, various; red glass inlay, 3; eye; imitation onyx bead, dark blue and white; bead (find 35), green, hexagon; draughtsman; frame for a sacred eye inlaid in mosaic, green; fragments of various coloured glass, 28. Of stone:—large agate bead; beads of crystal, garnet, agate, amber, &c., 33; various stone beads; head of Isis from a statuette, fine work, glazed green; a marble pendant; a little model amphora; eye in syenite; eye in obsidian, polished; small muller; unusually small basalt basin for grinding; an emery whetstone. Iron

key and nails, &c., from find 44. Iron knives, 2. Bone pins, 2, from top of E. mound; pieces of bone bracelets; pieces of turned bone and wood. Burnt clothing. Scarabs 10, including one of Amenhotep III., and one in blue glass.

To Bolton are sent various objects already mentioned; and also, in bronze, a mirror $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; Horus, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Taur; cat; serpent; Isis and Horus, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; horns and disc from a large Isis; a capital (from find 20); ring with bezil; crook of Osiris inlaid with red paste; a handle; and nails, 5. In glazed pottery, a cartouche-shaped stand with two hollows for ink cups; part of a cup with a spout, a couchant lion on the brim; part of a small oblong dish; Bes, fine blue, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.; Shu; Ptah; Bast, a good upper part; Isis and Horus, good upper part; Nefertum, 3 in.; Anubis; Taur; Horus and serpents; Tahuti; eye and Bes; crocodiles, 2; ram; hawk; ægis of Bast, 2; flower pendants, 3; snake; papyrus sceptre, cowrie; eyes, 6; draughtsman; beads, (find 44); terra-cotta head of a boy; limestone tablet, with Horus incised, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. Beads various, garnets, agate, glass, pottery. Pieces of bone fittings (find 35). Bone pins, 3.

The Liverpool Museum is already so rich, that the ordinary small objects are not needed there, hence the following objects are such as are not so generally met with. Besides the things already noted, there was presented in bronze, a lump of nine pins, two inches long (pl. xii. 6); needle, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, perfect, found by me on the surface south of the temple; square buckle (pl. xii. 43); part of a vase-handle, with a head; nails, 6; pieces of chain, 3; cast dumps, unknown use; coin of Tanite nome struck under Hadrian; rock crystal cover of an eye, finely polished; plaster model of a Ptolemaic brass coin, cast from a mould taken from a worn coin, use unknown, but a similar model exists in the British Museum; a glass bead and part of a dish, together with six glazed figures of gods, and pieces of bone fittings from find 35, to show the work of that age. In glazed pottery, ægis of Bast from a ring, 2; head of Bes (?), a bestial-human face with prick ears; hawk; crocodile; frog; Bast crowned, upper part, good; sistrum-head; head of Bast, a flat piece moulded on both sides, fine work; plaques, 2; head of Bast on lotus; eyes, 10; beads (find 44); and various beads in stone, glass, and pottery. In terra-cotta, four heads; part of a decorated bust; moulds for a bead and a snake. Schist plaque, two figures, scarabs of Ra-men-kheper, and Amenhotep III. Pieces of lapis lazuli inlaying. Whetstone.

To the Museum at York, the greater part of find 44, described in the next chapter. Besides that, in bronze, arrow-points, 4; Isis and Horus; and Osiris from Sueilin. In glazed pottery, Ptah, 3; Horus and serpents; Tahuti; Shu, 2; Bes, 2; crocodile; hawk; flower pendants; eyes, 8; draughtsman. Terra-cotta female head, good. Glass bottle, broken. Whetstone. Mould for making eyes. Ten scarabs, various.

To the Charterhouse School Museum, Godalming, objects already mentioned; bronze Isis and Horus; arrow heads, 2; glazed pottery eyes from San, 6; eyes from Sueilin, 5; Nefertum, Anubis, Shu, Bast, Mut on lotus, Bes, ram, pig, crown, papyrus, and draughtsman.

To Edinburgh Museum, some late amulets already mentioned, and twenty scarabs, as follows: King and lion, (Assyrianesque) (pl. xii. 34), in dark lavender glaze, found in the rubbish taken by Mariette out of the sanctuary. Amenhotep III. in fine blue glaze (xii. 35). Ramessu in blue-green paste, "Ra-mes neb" (xii. 31). Tahutmes III. (pl. xii. 11), with two animals probably intended for Sutekh, as "nofer" accompanies them, one overcoming a captive, also a hippopotamus below. Amenemhat I. in fawn-coloured schist (xii. 1). Sebakhotep in yellow-white glaze (xii. 2). Queen Nofertari (xii. 24), a small double scarab. Sheshonk IV. (xii. 23); scarabs with "Ra kheper" are not uncommon, the style is late, and I have seen a plaque of Bubastite work, with a king before Bast, "Ra kheper" twice in cartouches in the field, and "Sheshonk" on the reverse. "Ra men kheper" and two uræi; "Ra men kheper" and

a sphinx (square); "Priest of the temple of Har em khuti"; and others, with patterns, but uninscribed.

To Geneva, some pieces of the lattice of Pithom, ten eyes from Sueilin, and a small bronze of Khem, have been allotted.

To Sheffield Museum, four iron knives, a nail, and an iron hook, together with seven bronze nails of varying patterns, have been sent.

Besides the objects thus divided, there remain a quantity of small pottery figures, &c., for future distribution.

CHAPTER IV.

BAKAKHUIU, THE LAWYER OF SAN.

47. On the eastern side of the great temple of San, a road leads out between the high mounds of houses which encircle it. This road must have been protected from building operations in the prosperous times of the city, or it would have certainly been encroached on, considering how the mounds on every side run out into what are now long hillocks of ruins: and it is to be expected that the main entrances to the city would be protected by law. Projecting from the base of the mounds is, however, a row of large houses, which would seem from their thus occupying part of the roadway to have belonged to important persons, who could follow their own wishes in selecting a valuable site. Two of these houses have now been cleared, and have proved by their contents the wealth of their owners.

The more important house (find 35) is that of Bakakhuiu, who appears by his documents to have been a lawyer. From the style of several objects, particularly from an impression of a seal (pl. xii. 12), I concluded at the time of discovery that the house belonged to the first or second century A.D.; and as far as the papyri have been examined, the latest thing among them is the mention of a private person named Hadrian. Now we know that the emperor Hadrian visited Egypt in the year 130 A.D., and it is at that time that children would most probably be called after him. This document therefore belongs to the latter half of the second century. Here another historical point comes in to help us. The house appears to have been looted before it was burnt: no precious metals, except a small silver spatula, were found, and yet the bronzes were all left behind, and even the portrait statuette, which there is every reason to believe is that of the master. Another evidence of the same sacking is curiously supplied by the cellar stairs: they had been on one side half choked up by amphoræ which could not be got into the crowded and disordered cellar, and across the available half of the staircase was left a basket of papyri just as it had been pulled out of the cupboard which opened on to the stairs. The looter, after plundering the upper part of the house, had run down into the cellar, dragged out one of the pile of baskets of waste paper which were put away in the cupboard, and, seeing nothing of value, left it on the stairs when he ran out. Then the house was set on fire, everything fell down in a confused mass, and was buried in the dust of the reddened and burnt walls. This burning probably happened at the time of the Bucolic Revolt in 174 A.D.; during the disturbances of this revolt, and during the war in which Avidius Cassius suppressed it, there was doubtless a great destruction of property; and as this date so well agrees with what is shown from other sources, we can hardly refuse to accept it. The coins found in the house are Ptolemaic, and an imperial Alexandrian of the first century.

48. This house stood over a large underground cellar without windows, which was reached by a staircase from the ground-floor rooms. These steps descended first toward the north, then stopping at a flat landing another flight descended to the south, on the east side of the upper flight. This lower flight had a cupboard opening on to it, which was formed in the wall beneath the upper flight. In this cupboard the waste papyri were stowed in baskets along with other rubbish, as brown jars, and a piece of bronze

ornament. Above this cellar there were on the ground-floor two or three rooms, in one of which was a large recess in the wall, for placing valuables or ornaments in; and above these rooms there was an upper floor, or perhaps two floors, now entirely destroyed; for though no part remains of the walls of those upper rooms, yet the amount of burnt dust, lying in the cellar and ground-floor, mingled with antiquities, proves that there were one or two upper stories.

49. In the cellar was found the portrait statuette of "Bakakhuiu (the servant of light), son of his mother Ta-ankh (possessing life)," as he is called on the pedestal (Frontispiece, no. 7), according to the reading of M. Revillout. This figure is carved in limestone, and though burnt with the house it is not injured, except that the head has been cracked off when found. The height is twenty-one inches, with the pedestal. That this is the portrait of the owner of the house is scarcely to be doubted; it represents a private person, and would therefore not be kept like a divine or imperial statue; and it is not an ancestral figure, since there are no titles, such as *makheru*, implying a deceased person. Again, it is but very seldom that any private statuettes of Greek or Roman times are found, and such a figure shows therefore wealth and taste on the part of the person who had his portrait thus executed; and as we shall see below, there are several indications in this house of a love for ornament and for dabbling in the fine arts on the part of the owner.

Of the papyri found, but little has been yet read. There were about a hundred and fifty saved from this house; they appear to have been all waste papers, roughly shoved into six plaited baskets, without any care or order. They are of all kinds—hieroglyphic and hieratic, with vignettes and rubrics, fine uncial Greek, demotic memoranda, receipts, and legal papers of various sorts; some rolls, some documents of a few columns, some mere scraps of a few lines. The rolls have been flattened and crushed by the other papers, the folded slips have been twisted across, and the whole has served as a nest for mice, who have brought in almonds and hazel nuts, the broken shells of which I found amid the documents. Unhappily most of the basketfuls had been burnt to white ash in the conflagration of the house; but about a quarter of the whole bulk remains, reduced to black tinder, but still legible. The greater part of this, however, is made up of fragments of larger rolls, and nearly all the papyri have suffered more or less by cracking to pieces at the folds. Bad as is the condition of these remains, yet it is far better than if they had not been burnt, as in the neighbouring house some unburnt examples were found which have so completely rotted from damp that they fall to powder with the gentlest handling. We cannot hope to obtain better papyri than these thoroughly-burnt examples from such a wet district as San. That these papyri are of various ages is shown by the names that have been already observed—Hadrian, the Emperor Titus, and on a demotic papyrus one of the Ptolemies. Under the skilful management of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, in which these documents at present are, we may hope for many further details when they have been completely examined.

50. Of figures of deities several were found. An alabaster statuette of Tahuti, 14 inches high: this seems to have had an inlet beak of different material, very probably of silver. As such figures were unknown at Bulak, this is now in that Museum. A terra-cotta of Venus (Frontispiece, 11) was also found; this is 9 in. high, and is of better work than most of such figures: it had some gilding on the anklets when dug up. A bronze Isis and Horus ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high), and a rough small Osiris, show that such figures belong to this late time. There was also a limestone tablet of Horus standing on the crocodiles, with serpents in his hands; this was about 7 inches high, and inscribed on the back and sides, but it is broken up and burnt. A set of figures of various

gods was found in blue glazed pottery, rough, and without detail; they are of interest as showing the style of this age, and what gods were worshipped here at the time; they include Ptah-Sokar, Har, Nefertum (one with a lion between the legs), Khnum, Khem, Mentu, Bes, Bast, Isis and Taur, the figures varying from 2 to 4 inches high; thirty-one in all were found. A complete set are in the British Museum, but some, which were duplicates, have gone to other Museums. A small figure of Har-ur holding a club, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. high, in blue glaze with yellow points. This style is found at Erment, and, already known as of Roman age, is shown by this piece to be of the second century. A large brown pottery vase (13 in. high) has a figure of Bes roughly but forcibly modelled on it: this is now at Bulak.

Of other figures, the most remarkable was the square tablet of limestone bearing a seated Græco-Asiatic sphinx (Frontispiece, 8): the turretted crown seems to mark it as representing the genius of the city of Tanis. A gem with a very similar head-dress was found at San (pl. xii. 11) by Mr. Greville Chester. The fullness of the face is like the relief on the late Ptolemaic and Roman temples; but the style of the figure, the curved wing, and the pillar in front of it, is distinctly Syrian, and recalls Asiatic work rather than Egyptian. There are, however, two points which plainly mark it as of Greek inspiration, the figure being seated, and being a female. No Egyptian sphinx, nor Assyrian copy, is female (except in the rare cases of directly representing a queen); and the seated and winged female sphinx is purely a Greek idea, so well known on the Chian coins, the name of which was applied by the Greeks to the very different class of Egyptian monsters. This proves that though so different to Egyptian work, this is nevertheless not an early piece nor a copy of such, but clearly of Syro-Greek origin; and it shows how much Syrian influence there was on that border of Egypt, as is also shown by Syria and Egypt joining in revolt under Avidius Cassius at that time.

Other animal figures are two lions in blue glazed ware (1 inch high), crocodile, hawk, bull and serpent, of the same style as the above set of deities; also in blue glaze of large size (about 4 inches) three dogs of different varieties (Frontispiece, 3 and 4). A limestone stamp, with a figure of a bird on it, the *bennu*, rather roughly cut (Frontispiece, 5); this is of value as confirming the surmise of M. Maspero ("Guide au Musée de Boulaq," p. 289), that these *bennu* moulds were for cakes and not for pottery figures, as on either side of the bird is an upright triangle, the hieroglyph of bread for offerings. The impression of a seal in clay was found with the papyri, having evidently been placed on the fastening of a document. The style of it (pl. xii. 12) is most like work of the first century. The eagle's head recalls earlier engraving, such as the coins of Elis; but the row of heads below is clearly of the Julian or Augustan period, like the heads on coins of the Pompeys, of Caius and Lucius, and other such groups of the imperial family. The style is clearly before that of the family of Severus, on whose coins a row of heads again appears. The gem from which this impression came (and another impression now at Bulak) may be attributed probably to the reign of Augustus; and the employment of it in the second century would be very likely. A small bronze representing cupid running, bearing a thyrsus, was also found, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. high.

51. Turning next to remains of furniture, the woodwork has almost entirely disappeared in the fire, leaving only the bronze fittings and ornaments. The best of these are four feet and corner ornaments of a stand; the feet are in the form of Bes, with arms a-kimbo, ending below in a griffin's foot, something between an animal's paw and an eagle's foot; these are massive bronze castings, about 4 inches high; the top corners are heads of Alexandria (?) dressed in the elephant's skin, with the tusks on either side, and the trunk projecting above the forehead. There are also three handles of a box, in the form of

lion's heads, bearing a loose ring in the mouth. Also two wreathed faces of cupid (?), probably from a box or stand. One foot of a circular stand is in the shape of a lion's paw, finely worked, with the top ending in a conventional spread ornament: a larger foot of the same work was found in the N.W. mounds, which are Ptolemaic. Several pieces of bone inlaying from boxes were found, all with the usual guilloche pattern so general in Roman work; and also several tubular pieces of bone with holes in the sides; these when found had charcoal in them, showing that they were legs or bars of stands, made up of short pieces of bone fastened on to a wooden rod. A bronze leaf ornament, a Roman copy of the Greek pattern, had been attached to some iron object, as there was rust around the stem: it was lying in the cupboard under the stairs, among the baskets of papyri. Two bronze vase handles, 6 in. high, are ornamented with faces on the lower ends; there are also two bronze swinging handles from small buckets; part of a large bronze handle, 16 in. long; a small bronze cup, or hollow boss, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; a bronze wall-hook; and about thirty fragments of bronze handles, nails, &c. A bronze vase, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, with a wide neck, out-turned rim, and no handle, has suffered by being crushed on the lower part in the fire. M. Maspero informed me that such vessels were used for boiling: how they would be laid hold of when hot, having no handle, is not easy to see. Broken pieces of two other bronze vessels were also found. A bronze lamp, 15 in. high, with a long handle ending in a goose's head (Frontispiece, 1), was found lying in the corner of the landing, half-way down the cellar stairs; probably kept there for lighting the way down to the cellar. The body of it is of a curious form, the spout was wide, as in some terra-cotta lamps, the top is a lid fitting on tight to the body, with a ring on the top, and it has three legs to stand on the ground when not required to be carried or hung up. A small bronze bell, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, was also found; a crenellated bell, 2 in. across; and a tubular bronze case, with a sliding cap, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam., for needles or for some small roll of writing; it has not yet been opened. Also a bronze stylus and various fragments of ornaments and vessels.

Of iron, several things were found; two keys, a couple of cramps, a pickhead, some knives, some hooks, and a large quantity of nails from the woodwork of the house and the furniture.

52. Some of the small objects show the personal taste of the owner. Besides the artistic work of many of the things mentioned above, such as the ornaments of the furniture, the bronze lamp, the tablet of the sphinx, &c., Bakakhuiu seems to have been an amateur in such work himself. Two fine burnishers, one of rock crystal (pl. xii. 39) two inches long, and set in a bronze socket fitting on a wooden handle, and the other of white flint (pl. xii. 40), similarly mounted, are both of far too expensive a make for a common workman's tools, they remind one rather of the fancy tools of modern dabblers in the fine arts. That they were not used merely for smoothing papyri is shown by the extent to which the rock crystal burnisher has been worn and roughened. Another very characteristic sign of an amateur is on a small cup of polished grey syenite, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. across: this has been used for mixing paint in, just as a fine piece of old china is used to grind water-colours in by some amateur of the present day; besides, the colour has been wastefully slopped over the outside in a very unworkmanlike manner. The paint used looks like red lead by the tint, and there are also marks of yellow paint and apparently of oil on the outside of the cup. A basalt muller used for grinding red paint is of foreign type, with a bent top by which to hold it more firmly; this form ending in a thumb, seems to have been introduced from Asia Minor, as such grinders are found at Smyrna. A large limestone palette was also found, having eleven recesses in it; these tablets are usually found as funereal models in tombs, but as this was discovered in a house it is doubtless an article for actual use. It is so much

burnt, that I have not yet removed it from San. Besides this, a long paint-holder of wood, with the usual recess for the reeds, and three hollows for the colours, shows that fine painting, probably on papyri, was also practised here. Various fragments of burnt wooden objects were also found. A small silver spatula, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, is the only fragment of precious metal left in the house by the looters. There is also a small pierced garnet bead of fine colour; and a part of a tessera of bone found here is inscribed . . . ΠΙΩ . . .

53. Turning now to stone objects, there are many examples of alabaster. A vase with cylindrical neck, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; a libation bowl, with long groove spout on one of four projections around it, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches diam. Another bowl, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. Two alabaster vessels, rather shallower than their diameter, are $5\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across; and two alabaster mortars are $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, the lesser one is finely made and was used for grinding kohl. Another curious object is a circular piece, 2 in. diameter, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, turned slightly concave on one side, more so on the other, and with a deep groove around the edge; it is turned thin until it is quite translucent. This seems to have been a stand for a small round-bottomed vessel, such as the Phoenician glass vases. In soapstone there is a piece of a cup $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter. In limestone, a pine-cone ornament, and a piece incised with a branching pattern, and a hexagonal rosette. Of brown basalt there is a set of three mortars, 7, $5\frac{1}{2}$, and 4 inches diameter, all well wrought, with two lugs on the outside of each. No pestles were found with these, and the basalt muller above mentioned was evidently for grinding on a flat surface. Of granite, a large bowl was found, 16 inches diameter, weighing about 80 lbs.; also two flat grinding bowls 13 inches diameter, and not so thick; a deep black granite mortar, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter (broken); a circular piece of granite, which may be a grinder or weight; a black granite weight, mentioned in the list of weights in the last chapter, along with the bronze weight also found in this house. A number of various rubbers and hammers of different hard stones were also found, and a piece of emery whetstone. Many pieces of tesseræ of white marble, blue, red and yellow glass, and other materials belonged also to this house, and show that some mosaic existed here, probably on the floor of an upper room.

54. Of blue glazed pottery there was a great quantity in this house; the largest object being a blue jar 10 inches high, which is very fragile. This I found in the corner of the cellar, full of burnt wheat. Many bowls were found, ornamented with leaves and patterns on the outside; but they were unhappily all so far destroyed by the fire, and the burial in the damp soil, that I could not, even with the utmost care, remove one whole. An oblong tray found here is very unusual, but it is so tender that it falls to pieces with its own weight; it has four dividing ribs in it joining up to a central circular cup, which makes the fifth subdivision. A blue glazed inkstand ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam.) is also unusual; it is closed on the top, excepting two holes; one in the centre, from which a tube projects down in the inside, and the other hole in the edge of the top. The use of this seems to have been much like modern well-inkstands; the hole in the middle being for dipping the pen in, and the hole at the edge for washing out the bottle; this would be plugged up when in ordinary use, so that the ink could not spill if upset: of course no trace of ink remains, as, being carbon ink, it would burn away in the fire. Another piece of blue glazed ware is a very thick cup, or small bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. across, the hollow being not half the outside width; it had two lions on the brim, opposite to one another, but one was lost in the fire, and the other has slipped by the melting of the glaze. A piece of another bowl, not particularly thick, and with a spout, was also found at San, with a lion on the brim; in each case the

lion is lying down, with the face turned sideways towards the hollow of the bowl. The dogs in blue glaze have been mentioned above, and many other similar cups, bowls, and figures were found, which it was impossible to remove, as they fell to pieces on being touched, and were indeed already in powder.

55. Of glass a large quantity of fragments were found, but all so much broken and injured by falls, fire, and excavation, that scarcely any pieces could be preserved. One long-necked flask in light-green glass is, however, nearly whole; and a curious little globular vase of colourless glass, 1 inch in diameter, is almost complete. A few pieces of the clear white glass vessels, with threads of milky glass wound around them, were brought away, as well as pieces of saucers of opaque red glass, ground and polished. Part of the cheek of a sacred eye was also found, formed of a green glass base, with a chequer mosaic pattern in black, white, and red, fused on to it; the whole was afterwards ground and polished in a curve, and it is a good piece of work.

56. Of pottery a large quantity was found, but the account of it is necessarily deferred. About ten large amphoræ up to 3 feet high were found, mainly in the cellar; one of them is very fine, about 27 inches diameter and 3 feet high, full body, small short neck, and peg at the base ending in a knob, by which to lift the jar in emptying it. This is smooth brown pottery; but the other amphoræ are all of the usual Romano-Egyptian type, long neck with two handles at top, body tapering to a point at the base, a ring a little above the base, and the whole surface ribbed. Such jars are found in the mound at Benha, in which I found other things similar to those in this house, and which, quite independently, I fixed at just the same age within a few years. Various smaller articles, about fifty in number, as jugs, cups, plates, &c., were found, and will be added to the collection from this house. Two small pottery lamps were found, and two decorated handles of the flat pointed form, from large lamps, one with a vine-leaf on it, the other with a bust, from a very rounded mould; a dog (Frontispiece, 2); also portions of two terra-cotta figures, and a head of a child, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

A piece of moulding in plaster was preserved, as also several shells of edible molluscs, a large piece of mother-of-pearl, and a sample of the many gallons, I may say bushels, of burnt wheat which was found in the ruins: much of this had apparently fallen from the upper floors, but the large blue glazed jar, which was put away in the furthest corner of the cellar, was full of wheat when I cut it out of the earth. Except some articles specially noted, the above objects are all placed together as one series in the British Museum.

Such is an outline of the hundreds of articles found in excavating this single house; a find which is invaluable to us, as showing contemporaneous examples of bronze work, figures of deities, glazed ware, pottery, &c., at a period of which we can probably fix the close within a single year. The possessions of Bakakhuiu give a key whereby to settle the age of a large part of the Roman remains so abundantly found over the whole of Egypt.

57. Next to this, some yards to the east and beside the same roadway, is another house, which from its neighbourhood, from its having been similarly looted and burnt, and from the exact similarity of its pottery and other remains, we cannot doubt was destroyed in the same conflagration. As it has yielded many fresh objects, it is of great interest, as supplementing the finds in the house above described. The owner of this house (which is numbered as find 44) seems to have been not a native, but a Roman. In the house of Bakakhuiu nothing from Greece or Italy was found; the only foreign influence was Syrian, and the papyri were nearly all demotic, only a small proportion being in Greek, such as would naturally accrue in course of business. In

house 44, on the contrary, the most striking objects, as we shall see, have been imported, probably from Magna Græcia, and (so far as observation at the time went) half or nearly half of the papyri were in Greek, including fragments of some beautiful uncial rolls. It appears then that while Bakakhuiu was a native lawyer, perhaps employed in the civil service, his neighbour was a wealthy Roman official, a man of taste and refinement, who came from Italy to the administration of Tanis.

58. As several of the remains were similar to those of Bakakhuiu's, it was not thought desirable to keep them all together. The greater number of them, therefore, have been presented to the York Museum; except only such things as were particularly required for the British Museum, to which (B. M.) is noted in the following account. The largest object found was a term, carved in white marble; it is a square prismatic block about two feet high, with a female head upon it, and half-way down the front a trace of the usual attachment having been cemented on. A photograph of this head is given in pl. xv. 6, but the expression varies much in different aspects; and though not elaborately finished, being merely done in the style of decorative work, and about half life-size, the delicacy of the feeling stamps it as of the best class of Græco-Roman work. The full-face is noble and somewhat severe, while the three-quarter view brings out a slight and graceful smile. Both the material and the style are entirely foreign, and it is to Southern Italy that we must look for the source of this work of art. This will appear in the British Museum. Two pieces of thoroughly Romano-Egyptian work were found here, a couchant bull, and a hawk in limestone, about 4 inches high; the bull was required for the Bulak Museum, the hawk is in the British Museum. A seal is also in limestone, bearing the deities Ma and Ra (?) facing, with the *hut* over them. A limestone saucer, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam., has a rope border around it.

59. Many bronze objects were found here. Beneath a burnt beam, which had fallen from the roof, lay a bronze pan, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, with three hooks on its rim; and by its side was an iron staple, with the wood still sticking to it, and a stout bronze ring through it. This was the ring from which the pan was hung in the middle of the room, but though I carefully looked for them no chains could be found; the pan was therefore hung by three cords from the ring, and it was probably used for holding a lamp (B. M.). Another unusual bronze object was a kohl-pot, cylindrical, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, $1\frac{1}{8}$ across, with a hinging lid, perforated in the middle to pass the kohl-stick through. Inside was a lump of burnt antimony sulphide, and some charcoal from the organic matter mixed with the kohl. A pair of broad bronze tweezers, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. long, is another toilet article. Other detached bronze objects were a cup $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. across, pieces of a bronze dish, two pieces that may be small figures, much corroded, a Ptolemaic coin found below the house, and a large Alexandrian coin of Vespasian, which was found in the ruins; as this last is much worn, it corroborates the age of these things being in the latter part of the second century. Of bronze pieces belonging to furniture a large quantity occurred here; a bronze handle $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. across (B. M.), and two others of $2\frac{1}{4}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; a piece of very thin bronze foil, pressed into a form of a moulding, and filled with rosin to preserve its shape * (B. M.); many angle pieces from the corners of boxes, apparently a covering around all the edges, nailed on with bronze nails; a piece of bronze plate, still fastened to the burnt wood with iron nails; a lock plate, perfect, and several pieces of others, and a bolt of a lock; a bronze key of a form not apparently known before (B. M.) (pl. xii. 46), and another key (?) of the type in General Pitt Rivers' work

* This system was used by the Assyrians, but I do not know of its being hitherto found in Egypt nor in classical remains.

on Locks, 41 B. and 42 B. And of bronze nails a large quantity, some short, with very thin flat heads, for nailing locks, &c., on to boxes; others thick, and of the usual form.

Many iron nails also were found; one has a large hemi-spherical head of bronze, 1 inch across; another is rivetted over a bronze washer. Some pieces of iron knives are like those of Bakakhuiu; and also in iron there is the handle of a chisel; a key 3 in. long (B. M.); a smaller key; a sickle $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. long (B. M.) (Frontispiece, 9), and the end of another; a staple with a head beyond the eye, in order that the blows of the hammer should not beat the eye out of shape (B. M.); a staple and hook; a cramp, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long; and a hook-catch for a box, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, with the nail on which it turned (B. M.).

60. The glass objects from this house are the most important pieces of glass found at San, and they appear to be Roman rather than Egyptian. The greatest novelty, to our knowledge of ancient work, is the glass zodiac, which is drawn on a sheet of clear greenish glass, 13 inches square, its thickness being about $\frac{1}{10}$ inch, but variable. This has had first a border-line of gilding $\frac{6}{10}$ inch from the edge; within this two circles of gilding, 11·6 and 11·2 diameter. The space inside the inner circle is divided into twelve compartments by radial lines, the compartments about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches along. In these compartments are heads emblematic of the months, painted in red ochre on the glass. The top compartment in the circle (for a line through the centres of the compartments is square with the edges of the glass) has a full-face female bust draped, slightly looking to the left; this is for the month to which Aries belongs, March, the opening of the Roman year. Next to this (going round in the order of a clock face) is a youthful head and shoulders, full face, with short horns budding on the top of the head, the head being bent somewhat to the lower side; this is for April, Taurus. In the next compartment are two busts, side by side, the faces slightly turned toward each other, above their heads two stars of gold foil: these are Gemini. The base line of this group is on the side of the compartment, as are the five following ones around the circle. Next to this is a female bust slightly turned inward to the left; around the hair are four short legs of a crab on either side, and two large claws rising above the head: this is Cancer. Next a youthful bust, also slightly turned to the left, with bushy hair, intended for Leo. Next a female bust, the face slightly to the left, thin featured, and draped around the shoulders, representing Virgo. Next another female bust, with fuller face, and sprightly, but without any distinctive sign; this must be Libra by the sequence. Next a female bust again, also turning slightly to the left, with four scorpion's legs on either side of the head, and two long claws rising above the head, representing Scorpio. The compartment for Sagittarius is two-thirds broken away, and the remaining fragment appears unintelligible. Next comes a side-face head of an old man with short beard, looking to the left, with a semicircle from side to side enclosing the head above; this semicircle is broad at the back of the head and tapers to a point in front; it may be intended for a goat's horn, as the sign is Capricornus: here the base of the figure is toward the centre of the circle again. The next compartment has lost most of the colouring, and the subject is not intelligible; it must be intended for Aquarius. Lastly, a side-face turned to the right, but much injured, is shown for Pisces. Thus ten of the twelve emblematic heads of the months can be traced, and seven of them are in fairly clear condition.

Within this circle of heads are two gold-foil circles, 8·1 and 7·7 inches diameter. Within the inner circle are twelve compartments, corresponding to those containing the heads of the months. These compartments contained the signs of the months, laid on in gold foil: but, unhappily, they are nearly all lost. Aries is perfect, the ram running to the left, looking back,

with a hoop apparently around the body, representing the colure. Next to that we may perhaps discern the horns and fore-part of Taurus remaining. Except perhaps some of the legs of Cancer, nothing but unintelligible scraps of gilding remain until we reach Capricornus: there is here the goat to the left, with a dolphin's tail arching up into the sky, just as on modern globes. Aquarius is not intelligible, although much of the gilding remains, and Pisces is entirely lost. Thus there remain but two of the twelve signs.

Within these are two more circles of gilding, 5·1 and 4·6 inches diameter. The central object of gold foil and paint is too much injured for any immediate understanding of it; perhaps from analogy of other decorations it may be interpreted in future. In the corners of the square, outside the outer circle, there have been devices of gold foil; these are now lost, except that above Taurus, which is however unintelligible. Stars marked by small squares of gold foil are scattered about the corner objects.

Such was the design of this unique piece of work. But it has suffered injury in every way. First it was dashed down, and broken into about two hundred pieces. Then many of these were so heated in the burning of the house as to lose their shape, some bending at right angles, others melting into lumps. After that it lay buried in damp earth, which loosened all the gilding, and made nearly all of it come off so soon as the glass was lifted up. Next, the surface of the glass is so much decomposed that it scales off very readily. Lastly, it was dug up bit by bit by the Arabs who were clearing the house. I came on the ground in time to clear one corner myself, and lift it piece by piece, and of this part there are only two or three small scraps missing; but I so despaired of ever putting it together, or indeed of making out any connected subject, that the heap of earth already moved was left unsearched. This following season I have recovered a dozen more pieces, which will go far toward completing it. I have succeeded in placing 140 pieces in position; and there remain 21 small chips unfixed. The pieces I have fastened with varnish on a sheet of glass, rather wider than the original square. This will be found in the British Museum, and, so far as I can gather, it is the only Roman zodiac found in Egypt, the only series of the emblematic heads of the months, and almost the only example of painting on glass in ancient times.

61. Another glass object, nearly as rare, is a plano-convex lens, two and a half inches across, and half an inch thick (section in pl. xii. 30.). Some lenses have been found at Pompeii in an engraver's shop, and I have heard that one was found in Egypt, but yet this is such an unusual object that we may note the reasons for believing it to be a lens. It is of remarkably clear and colourless glass; it has been highly polished on both sides; and on the middle of the convex face a small patch is worn rough by rubbing about. Now the only other use it can have been applied to is for setting as a boss in a breast-plate, or some such ornament; but if so it would probably be coloured to imitate garnet or emerald, and the wear would be diffused over the face, and not all in one spot as on this. The surface is now all decomposed by the damp earth, and though retaining its polish it is translucent milky white, and liable to scale off. (B.M.) A piece of another lens was also found in this house.

Other smaller objects in glass are a stamped piece of a delicate opaque lavender colour, impressed with a lotus flower, and slightly iridescent, (kept at Bulak); part of a moulded glass cup with a fluted pattern on it; pieces of ribbed glass vessels; a piece of green glass tube $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, $\frac{1}{8}$ in. across outside, with a hole $\frac{1}{20}$ in. wide (B.M.); four green glass balls $\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter (1 in B.M.), probably for some game; the body of a green glass flask, the neck broken off; a quantity of glass beads, spherical, with a few broad flutings around each: pottery beads

of the same pattern accompanied them, and such are commonly found with Roman remains in different countries. Some very small light-green pottery beads, flat, with ribbed edge, and cross lines on the sides, probably a very debased form of sacred eye, were found with the last. These varieties of beads are given, as dated examples, to York, British Museum, Bolton, Liverpool, and Boston.

A small rude green pottery Anubis, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, shows that such were used in this period. In red and brown pottery a large quantity of vases, jugs, cups, etc. were found, which will be described in future; a lamp with Egypto-Greek *alpha* on the bottom (B.M.), a rough head with globular cheeks and eyes (B.M.), and a little hemisphere of brown pottery $\frac{3}{4}$ in. across, were removed. Two bone pins, $4\frac{3}{4}$ and 6 in. long, and rather thick in proportion, were found, both broken, but one with the lower part of a carved figure; also five pieces of bone boxes, which had sliding lids. Finally, we may note a piece of emery 3 in. across, used for sharpening; a syenite pebble, of which several were found at San, possibly used for polishers; and a burnt hazel-nut.

CHAPTER V.

MEASUREMENTS AND TABLES.

In this chapter are placed together some statements of details which are only of value to the student, but which should be published.

At San a chain of levelling was carried up from the low Nile level, in the middle of June, to the top of the highest mound, the long distances being most carefully levelled by theodolite, together with the whole of the temple; but the measurement up the mound, which is of less consequence, being done by naked eye reading to the level horizon. Some other parts were approximately connected with this levelling also by reference to the horizon; and indeed in the Delta, by a slight allowance for dip, such a method is fairly correct.

The following are the levels observed, stating them in inches above low Nile:—

Top of Sheikh's tomb	98 F. 10 in. = 1186
Highest point of mounds	1141
Highest remaining point of great wall	625
Pavement of temple, south-east corner	324
Pavement of temple, north side	330
Pavement of temple, Siamen's	347
Pavement of pylon, granite	277
Pavement of approach to pylon	217
Door-sill of great well	151
Lowest step felt in well, under mud	— 24
Ground by pit nearest village	214
Bank of river	98
High Nile	about 90
Low Nile	0

The above are the most important. Next we will take the levels of the great wall, in which it should be stated that there are two white bands of mortar, four courses apart, traceable in every exposed portion of the wall. These bands were doubtless continuous all round, and show us what was roughly reckoned as a level.

Limestone pavement in south-east corner	324
Top of back line of stone, foundation of wall	346
Lower steps of foundation	330 / 315 / 297
Base of great wall there	350
(Standing on sand, into which the limestone is sunk.)	
Top of great wall there	625

Upper white line in wall:—

At south side	424
At end of south wall	416
At middle of east wall	410
At north-east corner	420

Lower white line:—

At north-east corner	396
At north gate	461
(Ground rises a good deal to north gate.)	

Next, the levels in the temple itself:—

Pavement of pylon	277
Second joint of stone	401
Third joint of stone	434
Top of stones	486
(These are most useful points for levelling with, by reference to the horizon.)	
Bottom of trench cut between hall and temple	268
Ground by great sphinx (Plan 51)	258
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Highest point of base of obelisk (Plan 79)	300
Block near statue (Plan 103)	311
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Top of granite base of Siamen (Plan 187)	394
Siamen's pavement	347
Pavement in trench (Plan 274)	330
Highest of block (Plan 275)	273

Next, the levels of the sand below the remains, as far as known :—

In the temple near (113) the sand rises to	300
In pit a little west of (167), clean sand found down to	140
In north-west mounds, sand at	177 ± 10
At north-east corner	289
In pit to the south of temple wall	212
At base of great wall on south-east	350

(Some way south and north of temple it rises 500 or 600. Western pits, in line of approach to temple, go down to mud: no sand above water level, say 50 or 60.)

The stone well in the plain some way south of the pylon, which is of Greek age, stands thus (within 10 inches) :—

Ground on surface	516
Top of well wall	281
Top of door in well	101
Top of doorway in square shaft	155
Water now about	70

Thus agreeing with the water level in the other well already stated, and showing a rise of water level to 70 in. above river in a distance of a few hundred yards.

The shafts sunk in the north-western Ptolemaic mounds showed nothing but brick walls and ruins of walls; their levels are (within 10 inches) :—

Ground by northern hole	537
Sand in bottom of hole	177
Ground by southern hole	501
Bottom, still in mud	189

Shaft behind my house in the south-western mounds is roughly about 550 in. on surface, and going down 32 feet it reaches about 166, or below the base of the opposite north-western mounds. The house is about 735 level.

The levels of the shaft sunk south of the east end of the temple, in the plain near the Ptolemaic temple, are (within 8 inches) :—

Ground at surface	524
Broken stones	512 to 500
Dust	500 to 452
Mud	452 to 440
Brick wall	440 to 344
Mud	344 to 308
Brick wall down to sand	308 to 212
Ptolemaic pavement, about	340
Surface by that pavement	485
Lowest point of eastern gap in mounds	554
Lowest point of southern gap in mounds	549
Lowest point of western gap in mounds (at first pit, but slopes down to Nile).	214

Leaving absolute levels, we will turn to some details of the depths of shafts. In the north-western mound (as above) the shafts were 30 feet and 26 feet deep, though begun where the mound was low; in the ground at the foot of the mound, near the pylon, a pit went down to water-level in made soil entirely, with Roman brick pavement near the surface. In the pits in the approach to the temple we always went down to either sand or water; these pits, beginning with that in which the statue lies, are $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep to sand, next but one 18 feet to water, next 17 feet to water, next $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet to water, and last one 14 feet to water, the differences depending on the slope of the ground. In the south-western mound behind my house, and about 15 feet lower, a shaft was sunk 32 feet deep. The shaft to the southern well is $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the top of the well, or 37 feet to the water. The shaft near the Ptolemaic temple is 26 feet deep to the sand. A shaft in the south-western corner of the temple enclosure goes $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet to sand, but Greek pottery is found at $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The trenches north of the hall of columns are 10 to 24 feet deep; this great depth being just beside the stone staircase down to the well, where the sand dips down very much, as if there had been an old well or excavation in earlier times. A shaft between the temple and the northern gate is in dust for 5 feet, and then goes to 17 feet deep in undisturbed clean sand; this was cut in order to really see that the sand did not cover anything else, but was, as I supposed, washed sand, which is far firmer and larger grain

than wind-blown sand. Mariette's great hole in the north-eastern corner is 18 feet deep, and my pits on the east of it are 18 to 20 feet deep. The pit by the great wall there is 12 feet deep to sand, but was carried down to 18 feet to see if anything underlay it. The pit a little north of the group of houses (H) on Plan goes to 18 feet, showing broken up pavement at the bottom. Most of the cuttings made go to 10 or 15 feet deep; and these depths will show that more has been done than merely scratching the surface. In the valley running south of the pylon pits were cut to 15 feet, finding late Roman brick at 12 feet; to 24 feet, finding Roman or Greek pottery at bottom; and a little more to the east, a pit 23 feet deep, yielded at 19 feet, a piece of painted pottery, which may perhaps go back to the twenty-first dynasty. In the avenue of granite blocks of Ptolemaic age, in the plain nearly half a mile south of the temple, I sunk several pits; one goes 16 feet to wet sandy mud, from 3 to 6 feet being through much pottery of perhaps the Saitic period; another pit went to 12 feet, through black mud to the water; another $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the water, all black mud. The brick enclosure by that avenue is filled with sand, though made in a region of black mud; the walls are $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and the sand filled into the space is mixed in parts with chips and earth. Fuller details of this place must be worked out for the plans of it which will appear in future.

The following are the weights found at San. Besides stating their present weight, I have carefully estimated their original weight: this is done by picking a minute hole through the patina until the metal is reached, and measuring the thickness of the scale; thus knowing its volume, its specific gravity, and its chemical formula, the gain by oxygen, carbonic acid, &c. can be allowed for; and account must also be taken of the loss by solution from lead weights.

Material.	Grains Weight. *Now.*	*Original.*	Multiple of Unit.	Remarks.
Bronze.	727·6	716	5 kats . . . 143·2	All found together,
,,	288·7	287·3	2 kats . . . 143·6	Ptolemaic.
,,	149·6	147·7	1 kat . . . 147·7	Mean kat 144·4.
,,	145·6	144·4	1 kat . . . 144·4	Ptolemaic.
,,	141·5	139·2	1 kat . . . 139·2	Barrel, Assyrian type.
,,	14·3	14·3	$\frac{1}{10}$ kat . . . 143·	Cube.
Granite.	6296·6	6297·	50 shekels? . 125·9	Find 35, 2nd century.
Lead.	241·4	241·0	2 shekels . . 120·5	Bent sheet.
Bronze.	129·3	126·4	1 shekel . . 126·4	Egyptian domed type.
,,	63·0	62·1	$\frac{1}{2}$ shekel . . 124·2	
,,	13·1	12·6	$\frac{1}{10}$ shekel? . 13·1	Disc.
Limestone.	4156·3	4158·	50 sigli . . . 83·2	Domed type.
,,	334·9	340·	4 sigli . . . 85·0	,, ,,
Bronze.	87·9	80·9	1 siglos . . 80·9	Square sheet.
,,	95·6	86·0	1 siglos . . 86·0	,, Find 35, 2nd cent.
Lead.	85·7	84·0	1 siglos . . 84·0	Bent sheet.
Bronze.	25·2	21·9	$\frac{1}{4}$ siglos . . 87·6	Cube, Ptolemaic, find 54.
Lead.	192·8	197·0	Tridrachm . . 65·7	Square, $\theta = 9$ dioboli?
,,	62 8	66·0	Attic drachm . 66·0	Bent sheet.

All the above weights are attributed to their respective standards solely by trial, as there are no distinguishing marks on any of them. The *kat* weights show that the standard at San in Ptolemaic times was neither the light kat of 140 nor the heavy kat of 148 grains, but was about the mean value of 145. The barrel-shaped kat being light, 139, suggests that the lighter kat may be a Syrian variety. Unhappily, we know so little of the ages and localities of individual weights in general, that the history of varieties has yet to be worked out. Among the shekel weights, I rather doubt the granite of 50 and the bronze of $\frac{1}{10}$, as such multiples are not regular; but yet I do not see to what other system these can be attributed. There is an unexpectedly large number of weights of the Assyrian and Persian silver standard, none of which can be otherwise attributed, and the repeated occurrence of which strongly support this series. The mean of these gives a siglos of 84·5 with a mean variation of ·9; and this is equivalent to a shekel of 126·7 with mean variation 1·4, exactly agreeing with the Assyrian standard, but rather less than the Persian. The last two weights seem to be most probably of the Attic standard, otherwise they could only be the usual nomisma or solidus, and that was not common till Byzantine and Christian times (most of such weights having a cross, and the solidus not indeed being introduced until Constantine), whereas there is but little as late as that at San, the great bulk of remains being Ptolemaic and pre-Christian. It is promising for the future study of weights to have obtained no less than nineteen in one season; this was the result of always giving the men what was, in their eyes, a large value for them, telling them what to look for, and encouraging their search.

The distribution of worship of the different gods at San is of interest; and in the following table there is stated the number of occurrences of the name or figure of each deity in different ages, not counting the necessary figures in the cartouches of the kings.

In this list the amulets are of all ages from perhaps the twenty-sixth dynasty to Roman times, but those distinguished as Roman are of the second century. These do not account for all the amulets found, but only for the better examples; the list, however, gives a fair representation of them.

	12th Dynasty.	13th and 14th Dynasties.	19th and 20th Dynasties.	21st and 22nd Dynasties.	Ptolemaic.	Amulets.	Roman.
Seb	...	...	7	...	...	...	...
Ptah	...	...	24	1	...	1	...
Ptah *Sebt res* ...	2	3	3	...	...	...	...
Ptah Sokar	1	...	...	...	...	5	3
Ra	3	...	19	...	...	3	1
Kheper-Ra	...	...	6	...	...	...	...
Mentu-Ra	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Aten	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Har em Khuti ...	...	...	21	...	...	...	...
Tum	?	...	32	...	...	...	...
Nefertum	...	...	1	...	...	3	2
Shu	...	...	7	...	...	6	...
Khnum	...	...	1	...	...	2	...
Ma	...	...	47	3	...	1	...
Harur	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Osiris	2	...	...	...	1	2	1
Isis	...	...	...	...	1	2	1
Isis and Horus ...	...	...	...	...	...	8	1
Horus	...	...	5	...	2	8	3
Horus and serpents	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
Set	...	2	16	...	...	...	...
Nebhat (Nephthys)	...	...	...	...	1	5	...
Anup (Anubis) ...	2	...	...	...	...	5	1
Tahuti (Thoth) ...	...	...	1	1	...	8	...
Mut (Maut) ...	...	...	1	...	...	4	1
Neit (Neith) ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Hat-hor (Athor)...	...	...	...	1	...	4	...
Bast,(Pasht)Sekhet	...	...	1	...	...	13	2
Khem (or Min) ...	...	1	...	3	3	1	1
Amen-Ra	...	...	17	3	...	...	...
Hobs	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Taur (Thoueris) ...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...
Bes	...	...	...	...	...	16	...
Hapi (Nilus) ...	...	...	...	...	6	...	2
Neshem	...	...	2	1	...	...	...
Uati (Buto) ...	...	...	2	...	3	1	...

LETTERS AND WORDS TRANSLITERATED IN THIS VOLUME.

A 

A 

Ab 

Aukh 

Bast 

F

Hotep

Hut 

Ka 

Kh 

Kha 

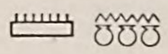
Kheper 

Ma 

Makheru 

Masha 

Men 

Mennu 

Meri 

Mes 

N

Neb 

Nefer 

Nub 

Nuter 

Pet

Q

Ra

Res 

S 

Sam 

Sebt 

Shu 

Si 

Sotep

Su 

Sutekh 

Ta 

Tam 

Taui 

U 

Ua

Ur

Kat, Egyptian standard of weight.

Shabti, Funereal images.

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3. Blue pottery dog, long mane. Same house.
4. Blue pottery dog, seated. Same house.
5. Stone stamp for pressing cakes. Same house.
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(ALL FROM SAN, UNLESS STATED.)

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2. Scarab of Sebakhotep.
3. Scarab, triple, early date.
4. Scarab, hawk and emblems.
5. Lid of alabaster vase inscribed with the same titles of Pepi as on the block at San (pl. i. 2); in Prof. Sayce's possession, obtained at Keneh, 1884.
6. Group of nine bronze pins.
7. Head of Nekht-har-hebi in white limestone, gilt; from a wall at Tell-el-Maskhuta.
8. Scarab, "Ahotepu, neb."
9. Scarab, double reading, "Ra user ma" (Ramessu II.) and "Ra men kheper" (Tahutmes III.). Such double readings occur on others.
10. Seal in rich red garnet, to be compared with the sphinx tablet (in frontispiece); in Mr. Greville Chester's possession, from San, 1880.
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12. Clay seal from burnt papyri, find 35.
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16. Uati from N. Sueilin.
17. Hathor from N. Sueilin.
18. Bark of Ra from S. Sueilin.
19. Nebhat from Sueilin.
20. Isis from San.
21. Neit from N. Sueilin.
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51. Scarab, "Priest of Tahuti," find 15.
52. Scarab, "Shu, son of Ra," find 64.
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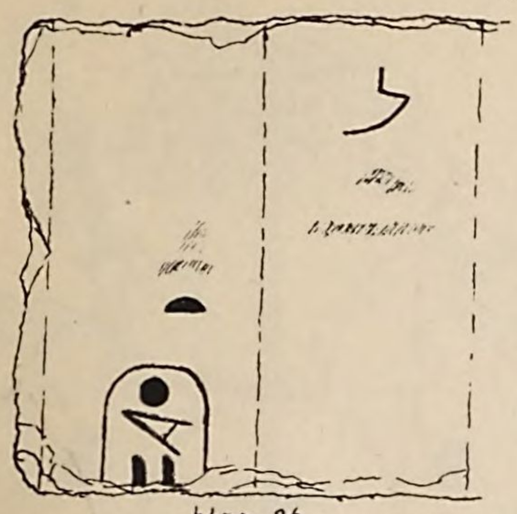
THE NUMBERING OF THE PLANS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

As it is necessary to enable a reader to find any given stone readily on the Plan, the numbering of the blocks must be in sequence as they lie on the ground : and as it is necessary to arrange the inscriptions in chronological order, the numbering of the inscriptions must be in sequence as they are here printed. Hence nearly every block has two numbers, one on the Plan, the other in the inscriptions. The plates of inscriptions have the inscription number at the top right-hand corner of each inscription; fragments of the same monument bearing the same number, accompanied by a letter (39A, 39B, &c.); also below each inscription is the number of the monument on the Plan, so that its position can be readily found. The numbers on the Plan begin at the west-end, or entrance, and go to the east-end, running in lines from side to side, in whatever way the blocks could be most nearly strung in sequence. The same number is repeated to the fragments of the same object, so that blocks belonging one to another can be easily observed. The numbering is continuous in the two Plans, the second Plan being a larger scale drawing of part of the first, in which only the most important stones were entered. As it may be needful to refer from the Plan to the inscriptions, the following are the numbers on the Plan, followed by the number of the inscription. A list comprising all the blocks will be given when the remainder of the inscriptions are published.

Plan.	Inscrip.	Plan.	Inscrip.	Plan.	Inscrip.	Plan.	Inscrip.
7	33	62	52	95	9	180	22
9	34	68	35	96	1	183	23
10	43	69	36	97	5	197	19E
15	32	71	29	98	17	198	19A
27	56	72	28	99	11	208	19B
42	45	73	31	101	4	217	19C
47	44	74	30	102	16	241	62
49	50	75	41	103	3	244	64
51	15	76	48	113	2	248, 249	65
54	37	77	51	117	21 55	261	13, 61
57	46	79	63	136	59	269	42
58	47	81	38	152	24	271	53
59	49	82	39	163	60	276	54
60	26	86	17	167	58	279	10
61	27	87	8	168	57		

At the top left-hand corner of each plate the proportion is stated which the drawings bear to the monuments; these proportions are approximate, but every object on a plate is reduced to the same scale.

1.



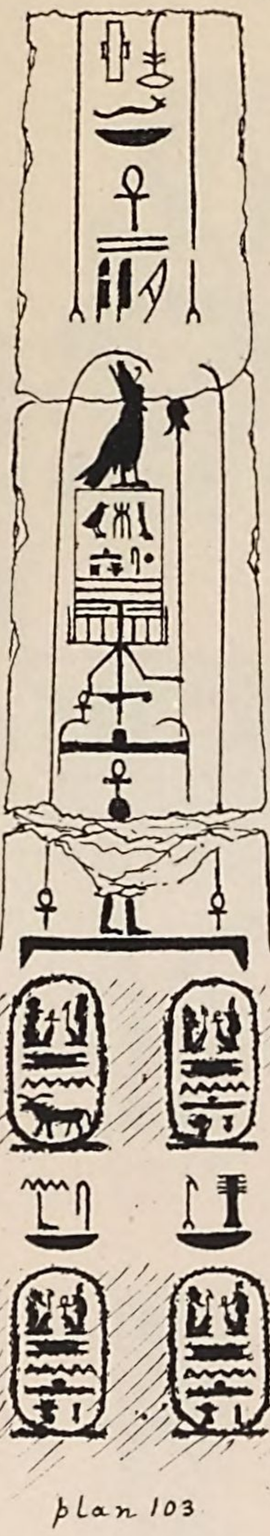
plan 96

2.

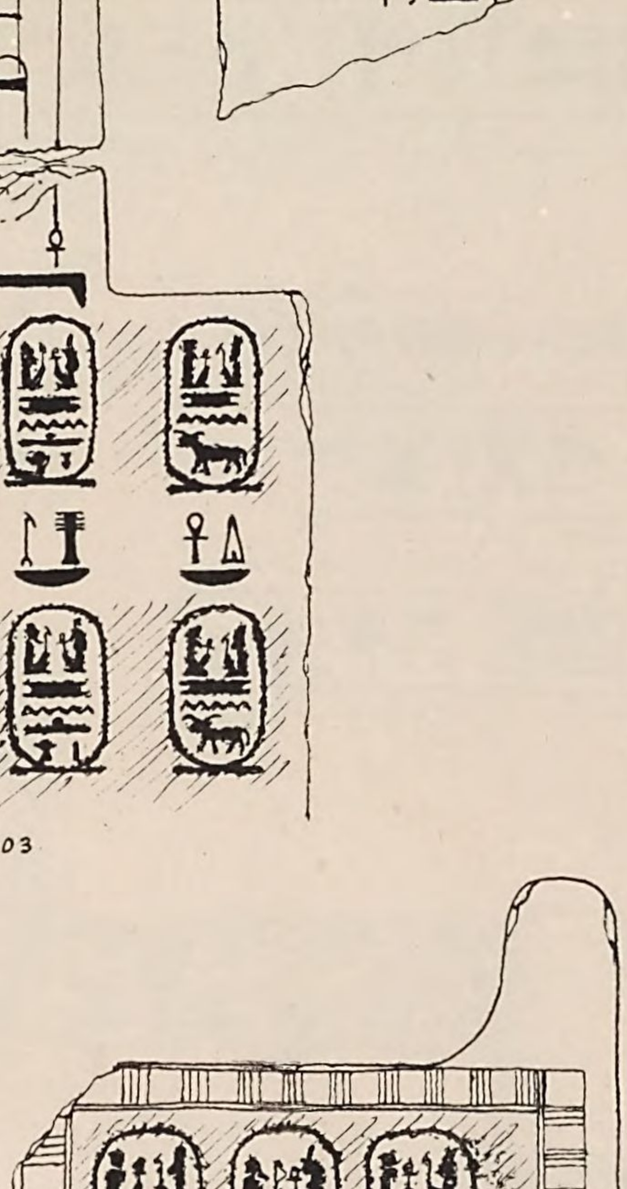


plan 113

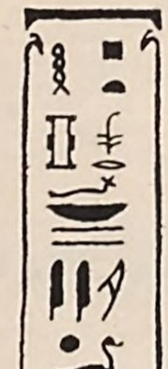
3.A.



3.B.



3.C.



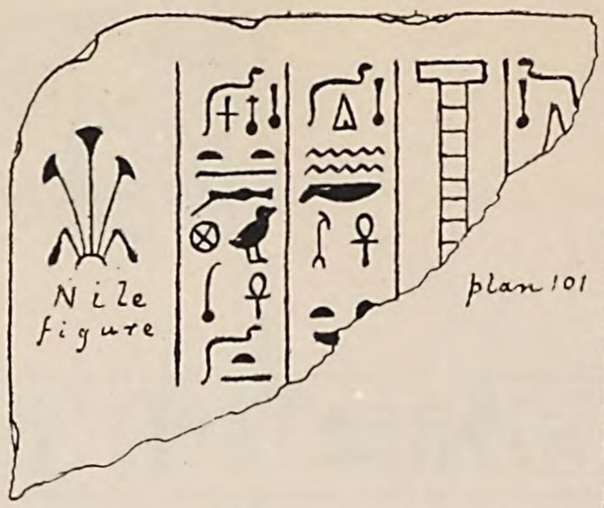
3.D.



4.A.

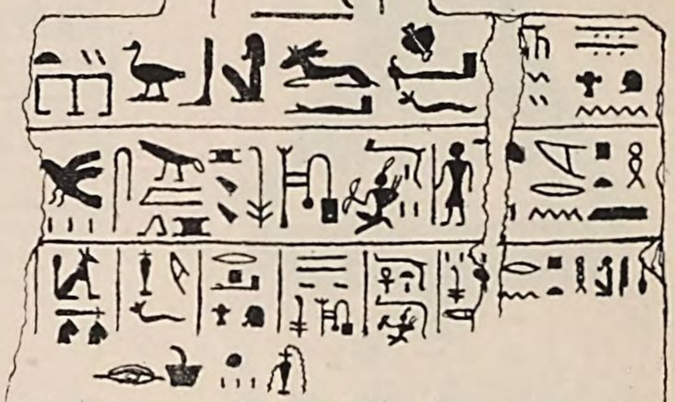


4.B.



Nile figure

plan 101



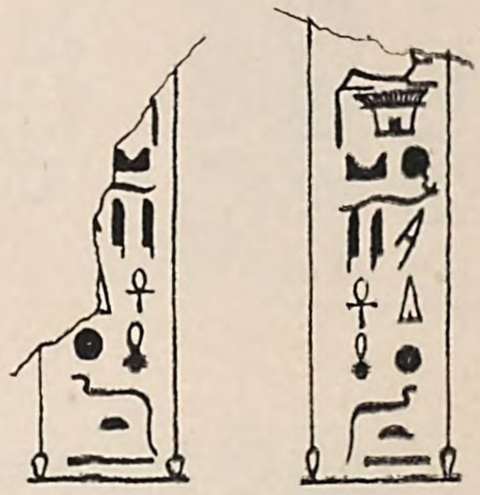
Set, human-headed, standing with User.

Table of offerings.

Merenptah offering wine and incense.

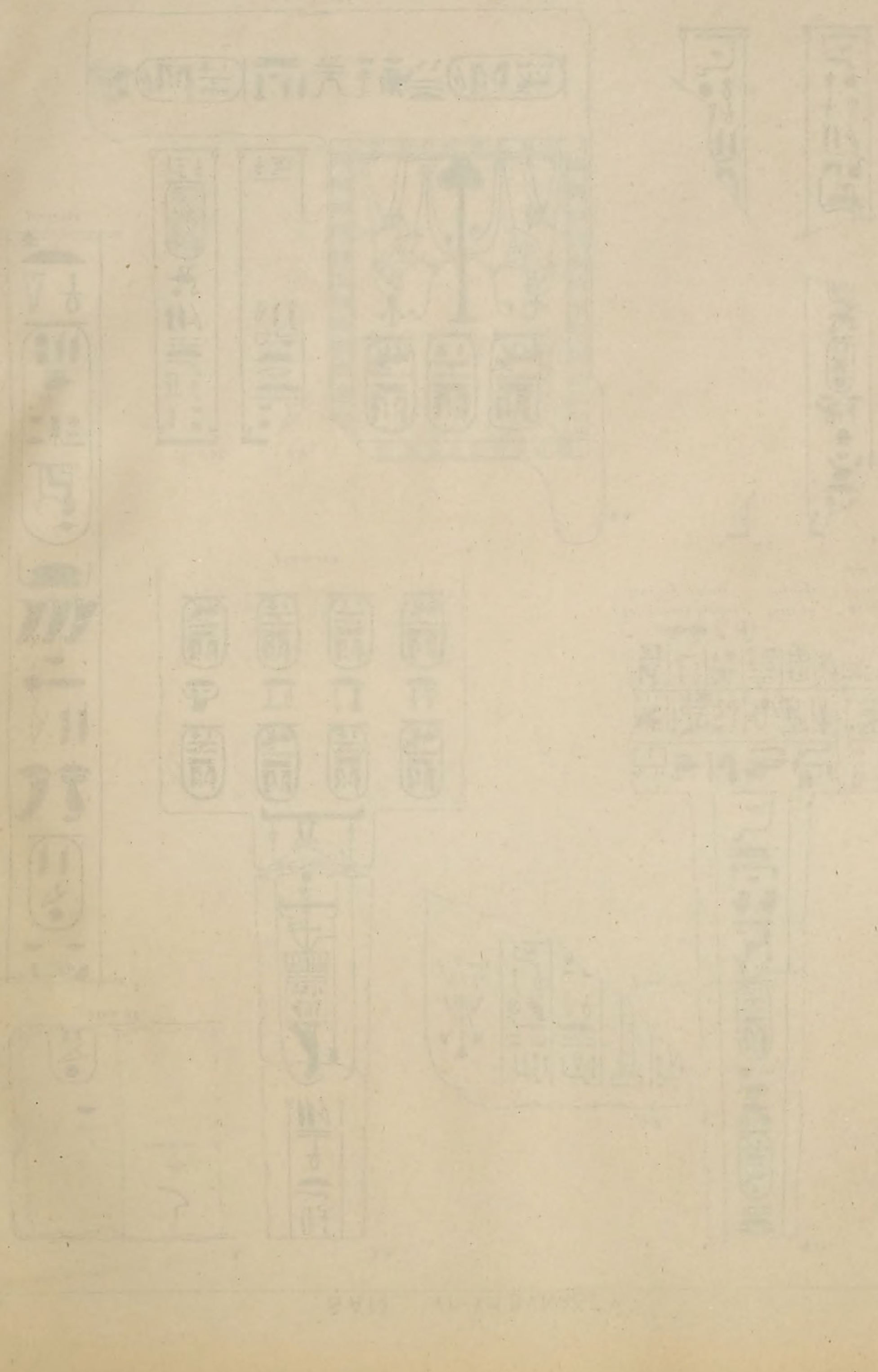
4.C.

4.D.



plan 103

W. M. F. P.



6.A.

5.A.

5.B.

5.C.

sic

6.B.

plan 97.

7.

9.

plan 95.

sic

8.A.

8.B.

plan 87.

13.

10.A.

10.B.

plan 279.

11.

12

plan 83.

front side back side front

plan 99.

14.A.

corner

For remainder see No 60.
plan 261.

14.B.

14.C. 14.D. 14.E. 14.F.

In Louvre.

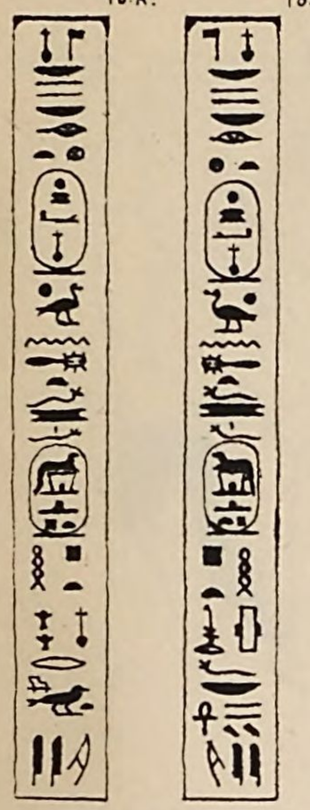
15.A. 15.B.

15.C.

plan 51.

W. M. F. P.

16.A. 16.B.

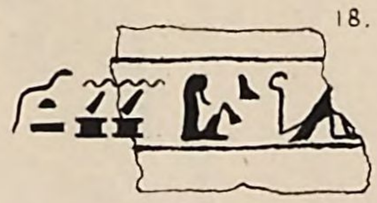


plan 102.

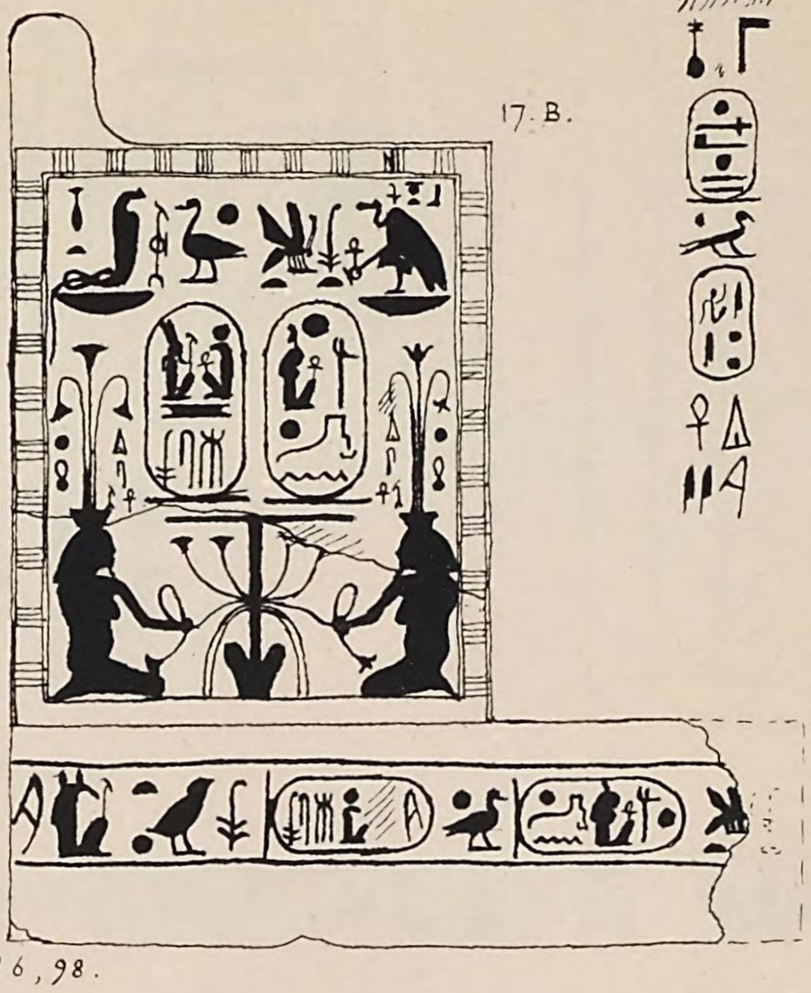
17.A.



18.

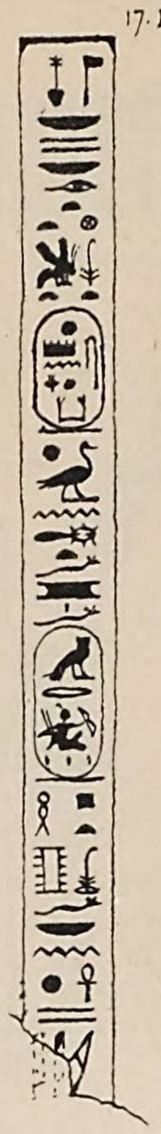


17.B.



17.C.

17.B.



plan 86, 98.

19.A.

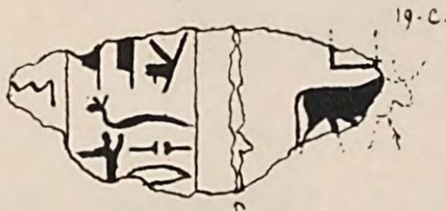


19.B



plan 208

19.C.

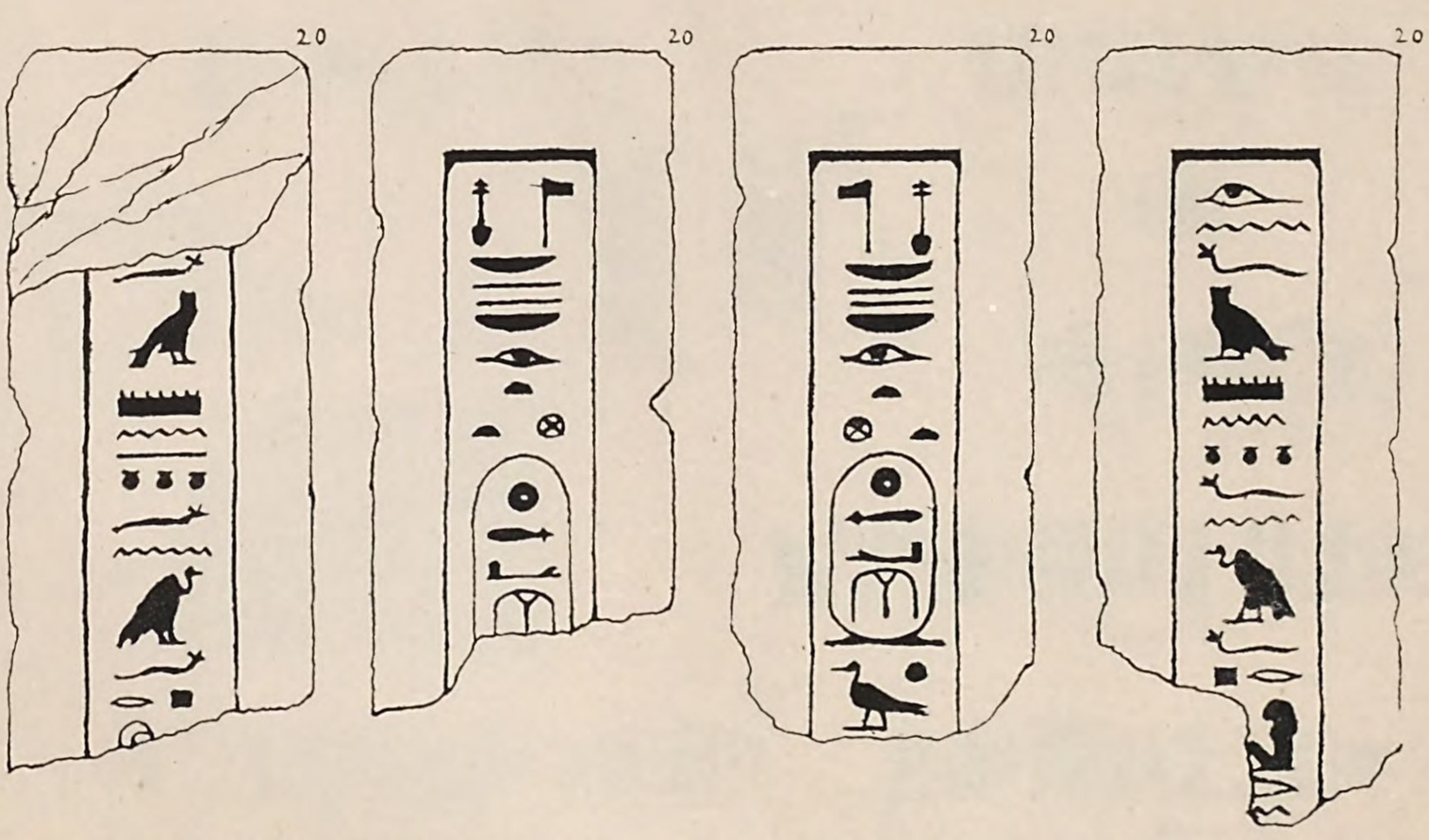


plan 217

19.D.



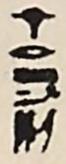
20 20 20 20



plan 198.

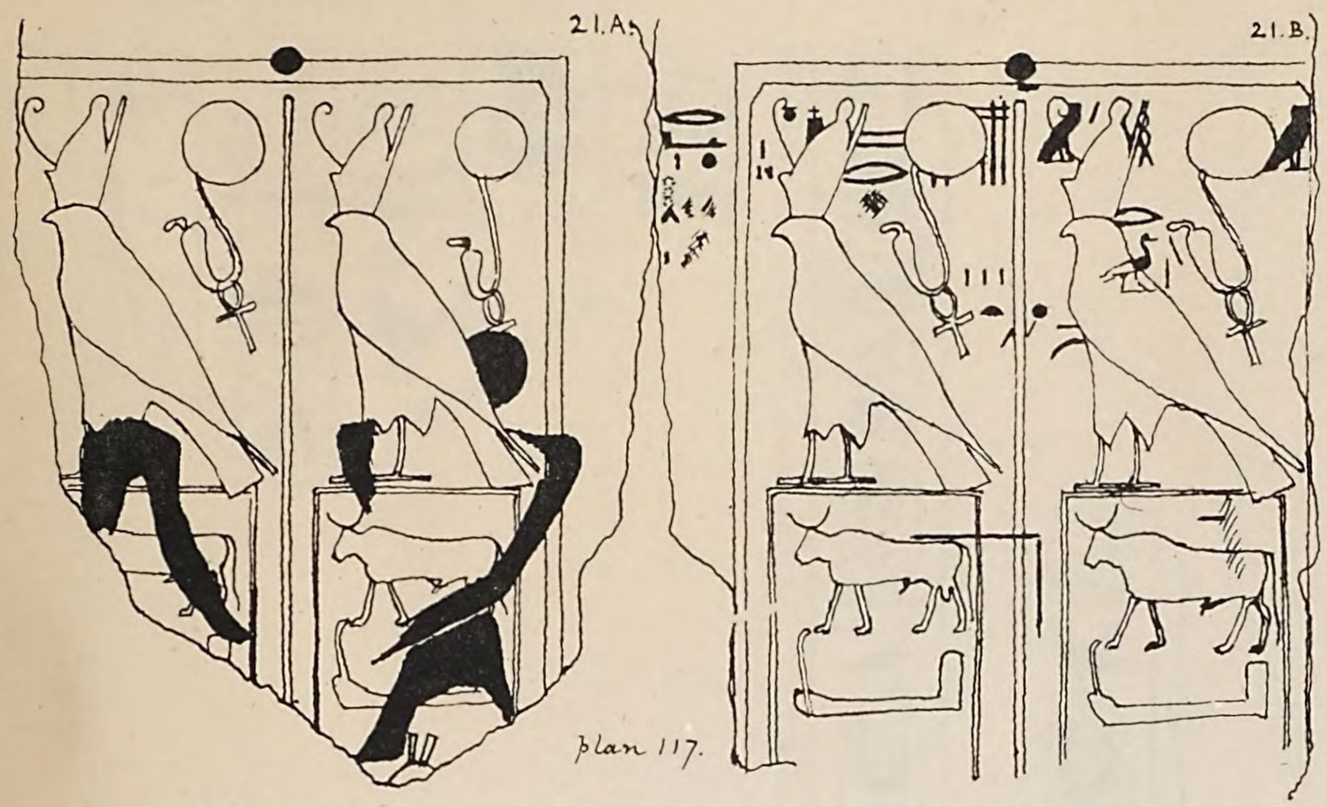
On pyramidion of an obelisk arm of a standing figure of Khem; in front of it —

19.E



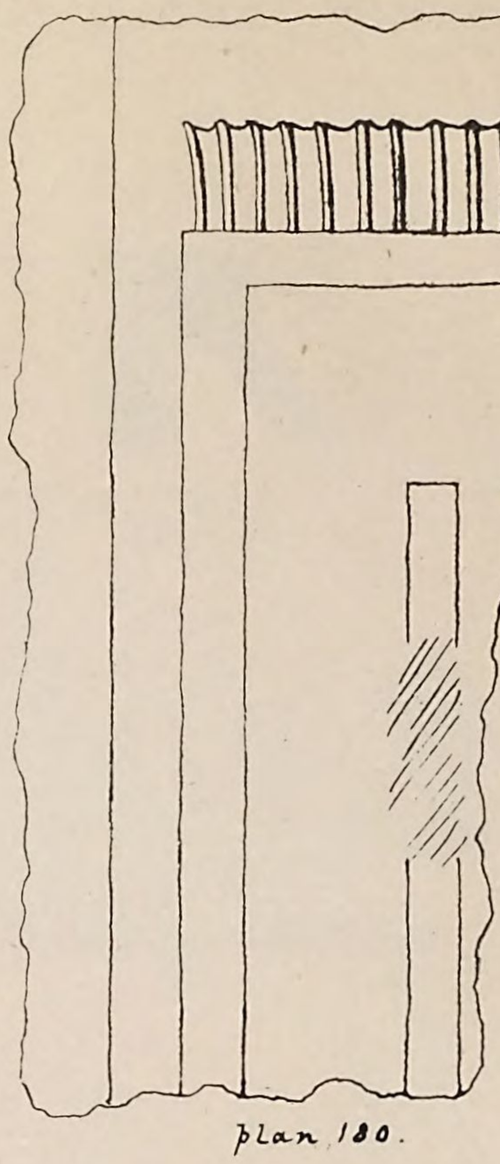
plan 197.

21.A. 21.B.



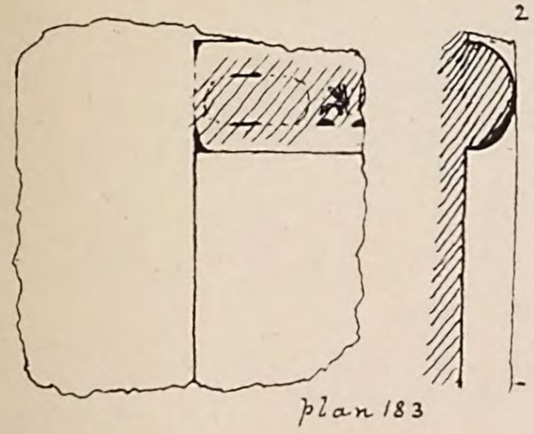
plan 117.

22.



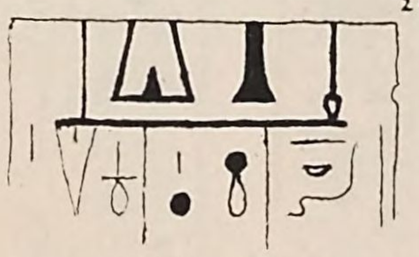
plan 180.

23.



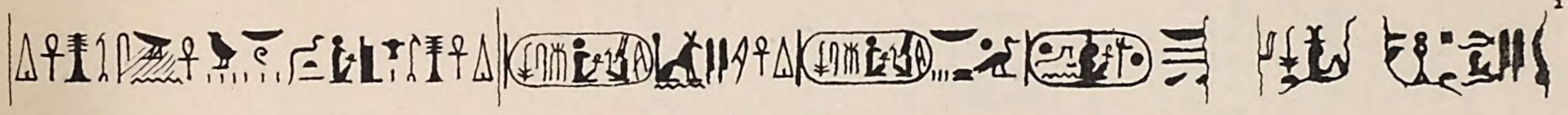
plan 183

24.

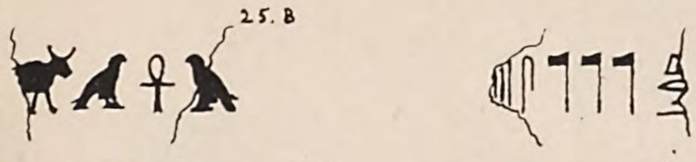


plan 152.

25.A.

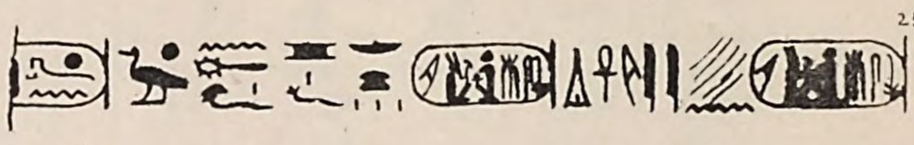


25.B



in Louvre.

25.B.



25.C.



25.D.



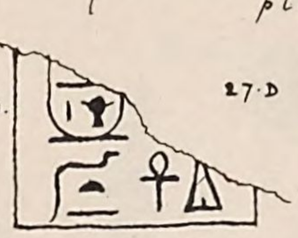
29.A. 28.D.



erased on 28.D.



27.D



27.E



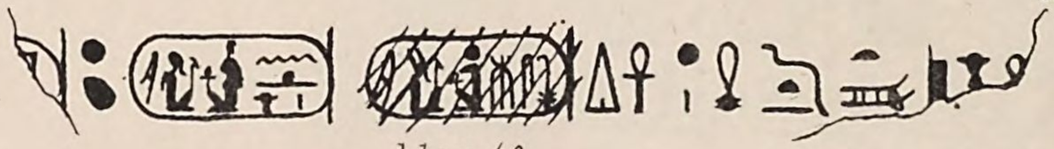
27.F.



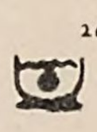
27.G.



26.A.

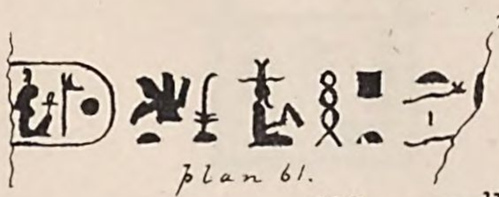


26.B.



plan 60.

27.A.



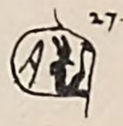
plan 61.

27.B.

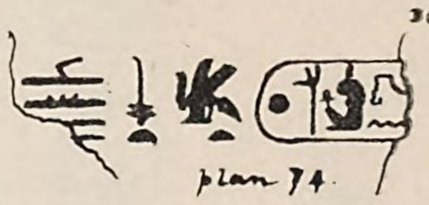


plan 61.

27.C.



30.B.



plan 74.

29.B.



on 30A & 28.C.

28.E.

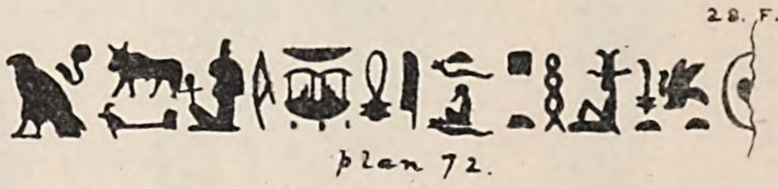


28.B



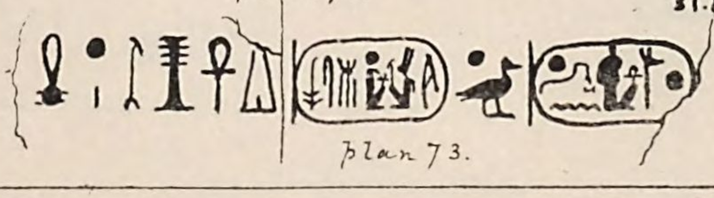
plan 72.

28.F.



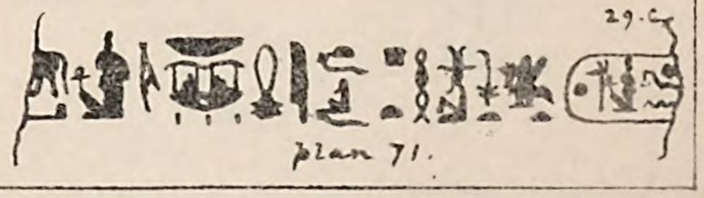
plan 72.

31.A.



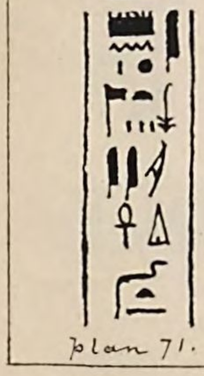
plan 73.

29.C.



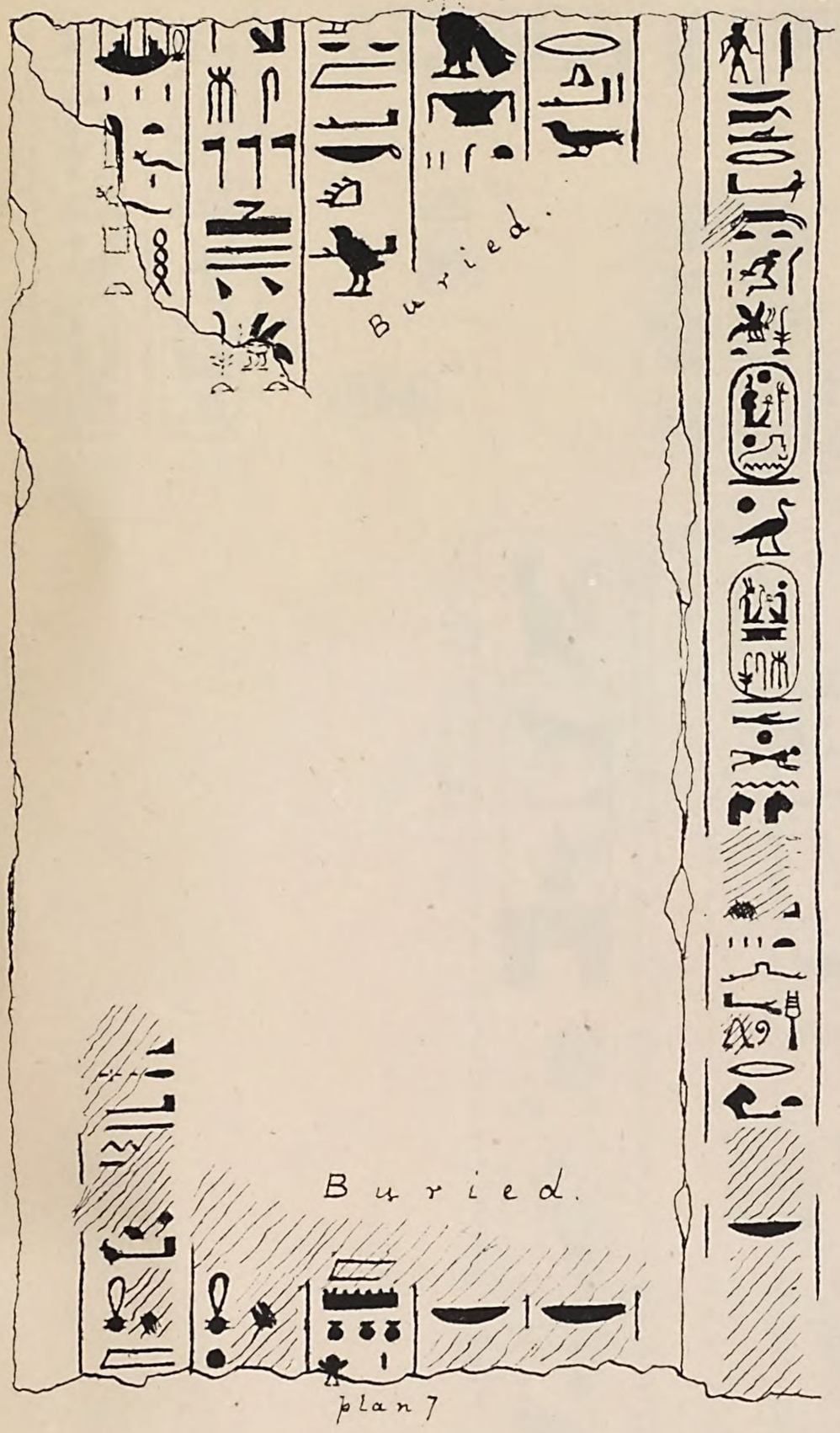
plan 71.

plan 71.



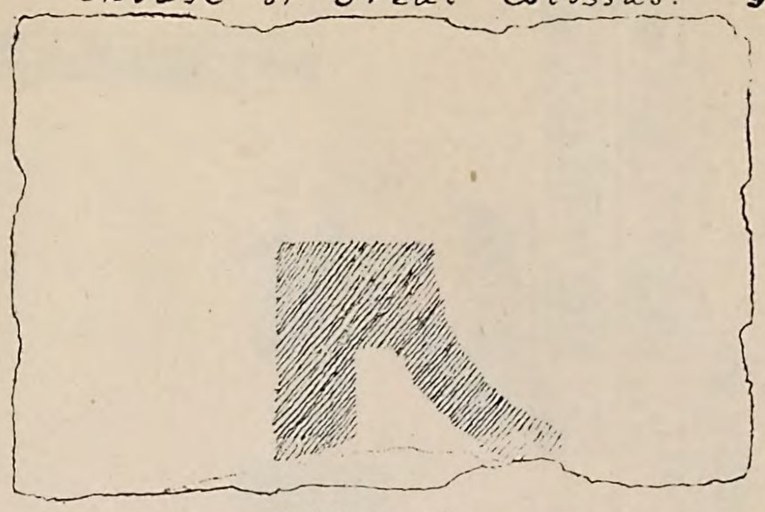
W.M.F.P.

North Colossus of Pylon. 33.



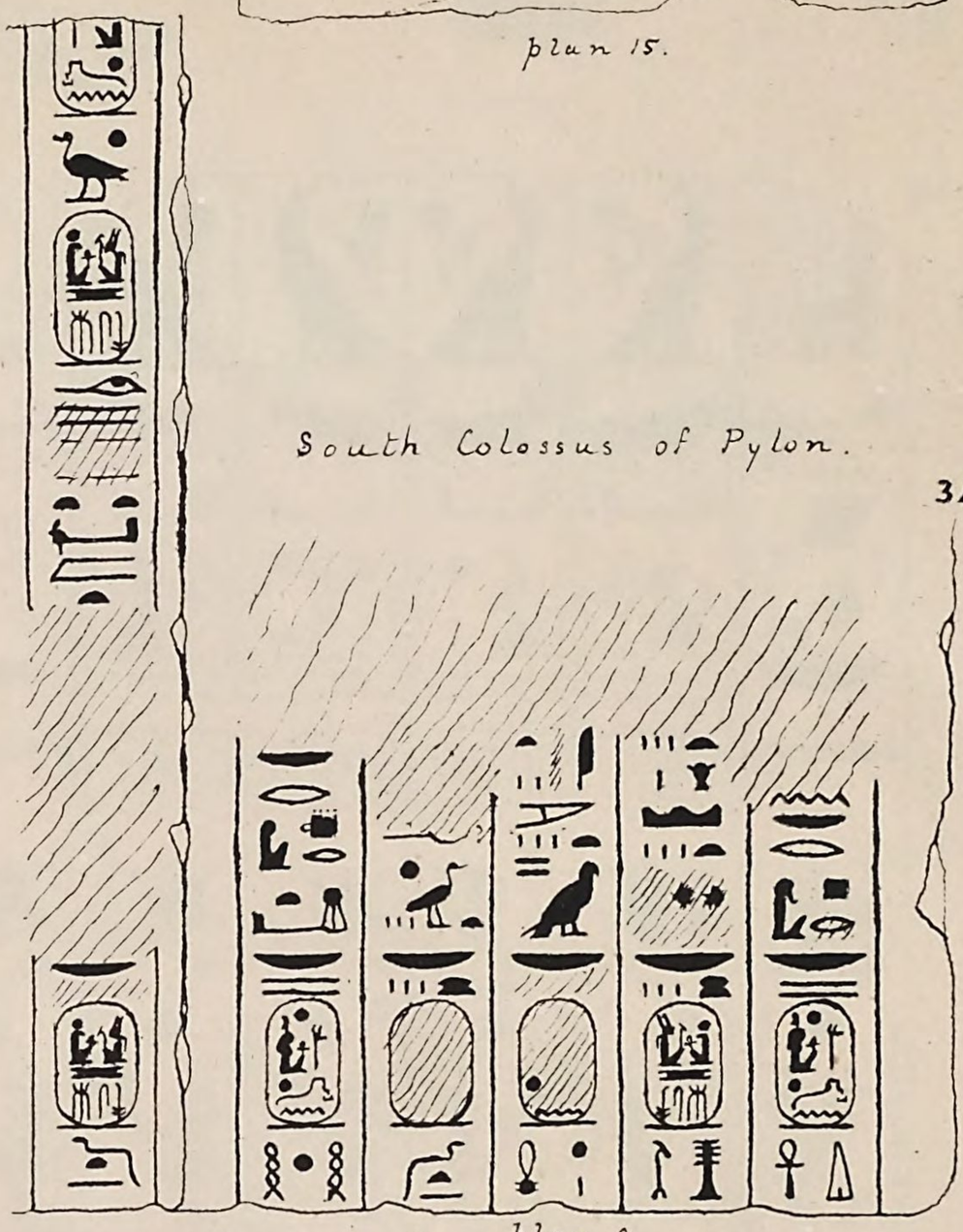
plan 7

On base of Great Colossus. 32.



plan 15.

South Colossus of Pylon. 34.



plan 9.

Sandstone Colossi.

35.A

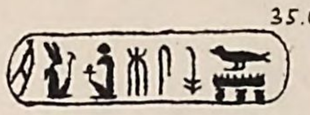


plan 68.

35.B.



35.C.



35.D.



35.E.

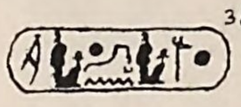


35.F.



plan 68

36.A.



37.A.



plan 54.

36.B.



plan 69

36.C.



plan 69

37.B.

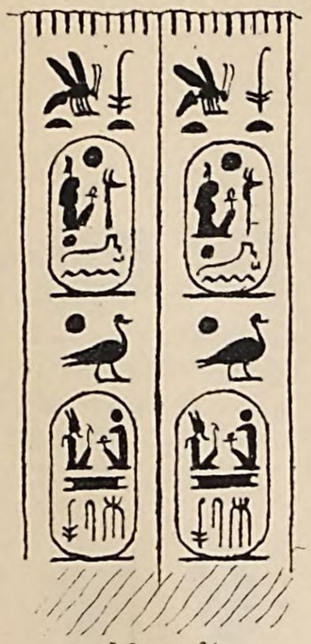


37.C.



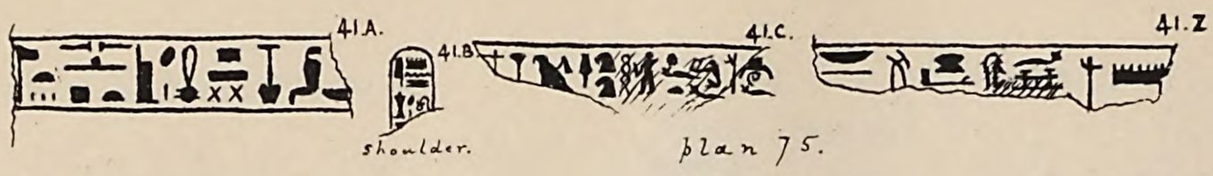
plan 54.

38.A.



plan 81.

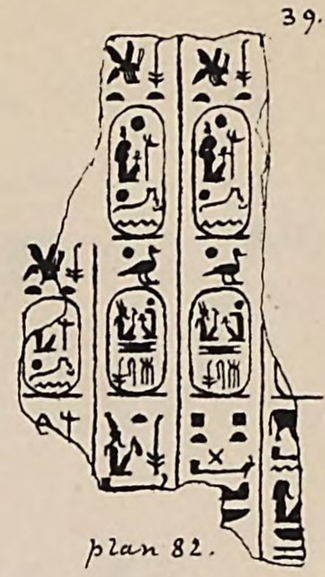
41.A. 41.B. 41.C. 41.Z



shoulder.

plan 75.

39.A.

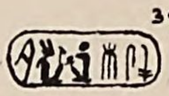


plan 82.

39.B.



39.C

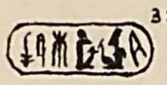


42

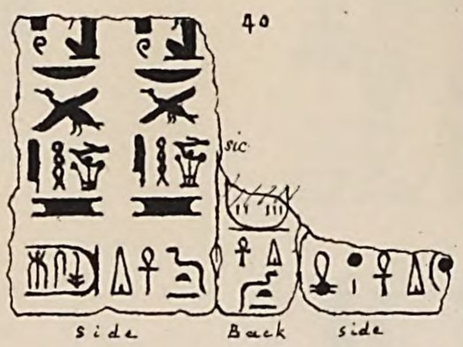


plan 269

38.B.



40



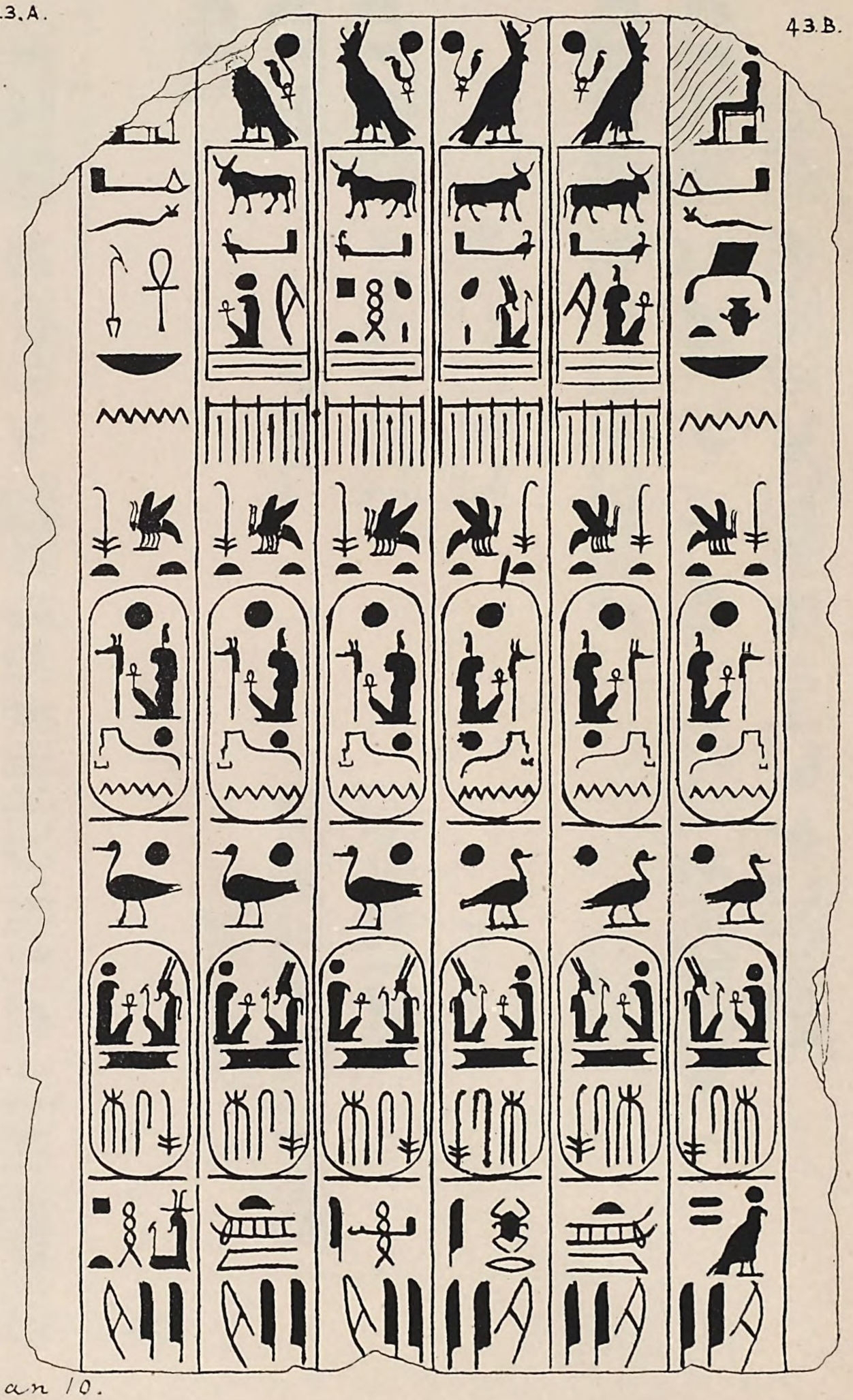
side Back side

43.A.



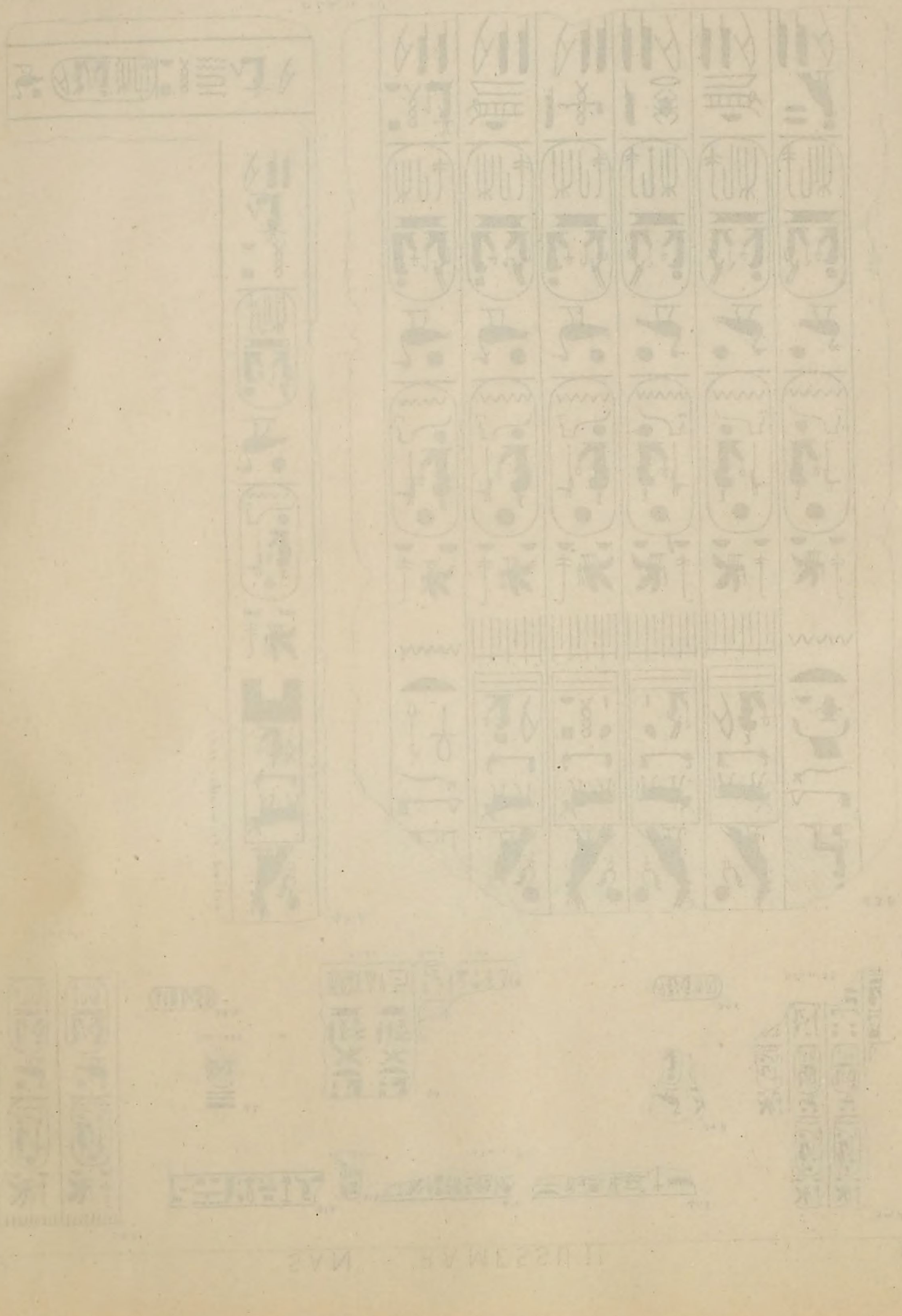
copied from other side.

43.B.



plan 10.

W.M.F.P.



Obelisks of the Hall.

North Obelisk. 44.

Ramessu offering to Har seated.

Ramessu offering to Tum seated.

Pyramidions.

South Obelisk. 45.

Ramessu offering to Ptah seated

Ramessu offering to Ptah seated

Fourth side buried.

plan 47

plan 42

Fourth side buried.

West Pair of Obelisks in Temple.

North Obelisk. 46.

Ramessu offering wine to Tum seated

Ramessu offering wine to Har.

Ramessu offering wine to Amen.

South Obelisk. 47.

(Buried)

(Broken) Ramessu offering wine to (Tum wrote to) seated Shu seated. Har seated

Ramessu offering wine to Shu seated.

Fourth side cut away.

plan 58.

Weathered

plan 57

Weathered

Middle Pair of Obelisks in Temple.

Western Obelisk in Temple.

50.

North Obelisk.

South Obelisk.

49.

48.

Pyramidion all broken.

Ramessu offering wine to Tum seated.

Ramessu offering incense to ?

Ramessu offering bread to Amen-Ra

Ramessu offering incense

Shu

Buried.

Buried.

Buried.

Buried.

Scenes at bases of sides.

Tum standing

Ramessu offering a tray

Base of first column

Ramessu offering wine to

Shu standing.

Base of middle column

Ramessu offering a tray

Seb standing.

Base of end column

Amen-Ra seated

Ramessu offering white bread.

Base of last column

Lying on a block.

Ramessu kneeling offering incense to Tum seated.

Ramessu offering to Har.

Weathered off.

plan 76.

plan 59

plan 49.

W.M.F.P.

East pair of obelisks in middle of Temple.

North Obelisk. South Obelisk.

Pyramidions.

51. sic

52.

Ramessu offering wine to Tum

Ramessu offering bread to Ptah.

Ramessu offering wine to Har.

Ramessu offering tray to Ptah

Ramessu offering incense to Har.

Ramessu offering bread to Tum

Ramessu offering bread to Ptah.

Ramessu offering incense to Ptah.

Buried.

Buried.

Buried.

plan 77.

Ramessu offering to Ptah.

Ramessu offering to Har

plan 62.

Ramessu offering to Ptah

Ramessu offering to Ptah.

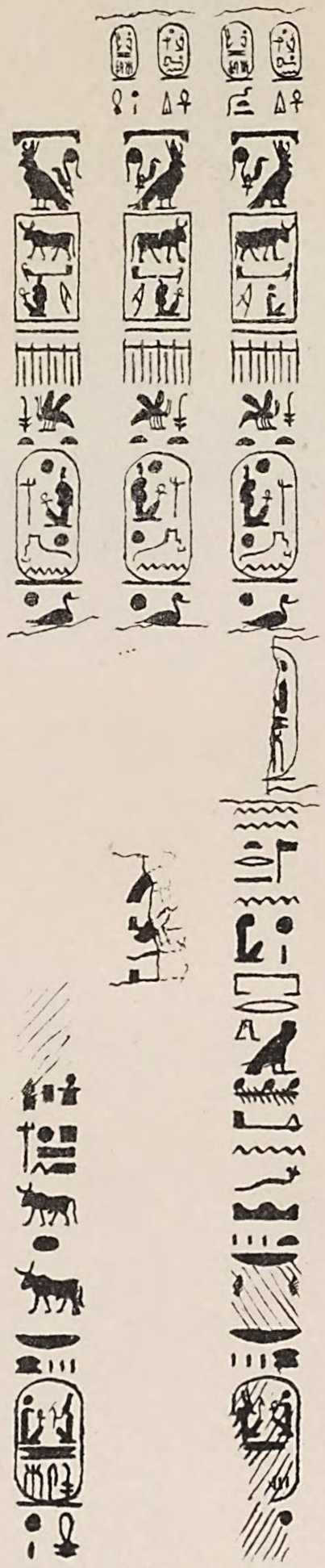
Eastern Obelisks.
North. South.

53.



plan 271.

54.



plan 276.

Refaced Obelisk, in Temple.

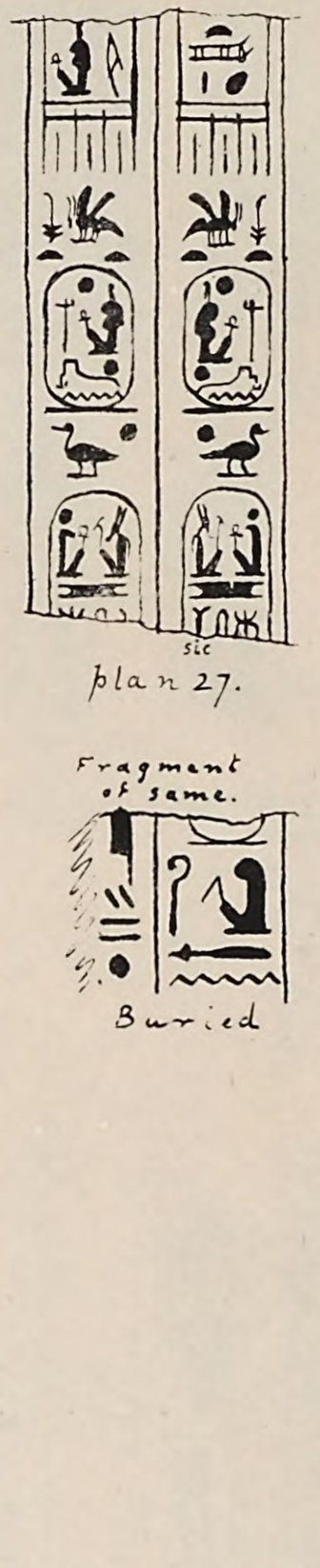
55.



plan 117.

In wall of Pylon, sandstone obelisk.

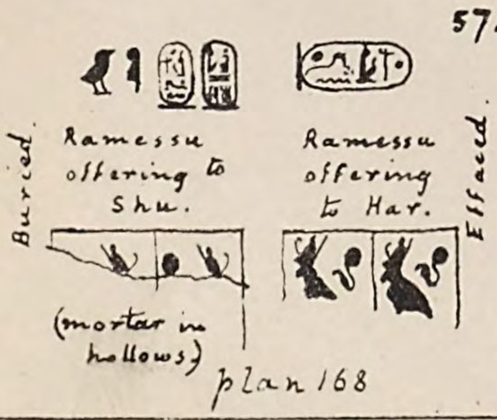
56.



plan 27.



57.



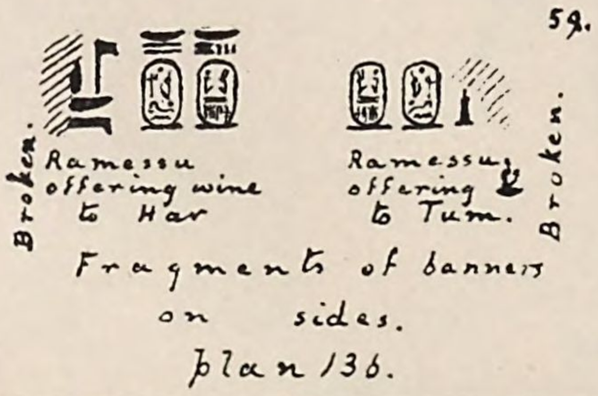
plan 168

58.



plan 167

59.



Fragments of banners on sides.

plan 136.

60.

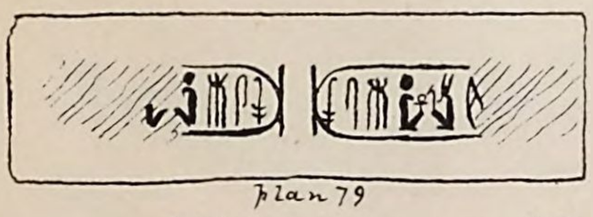


Plan 163.

63.A.



63.B.

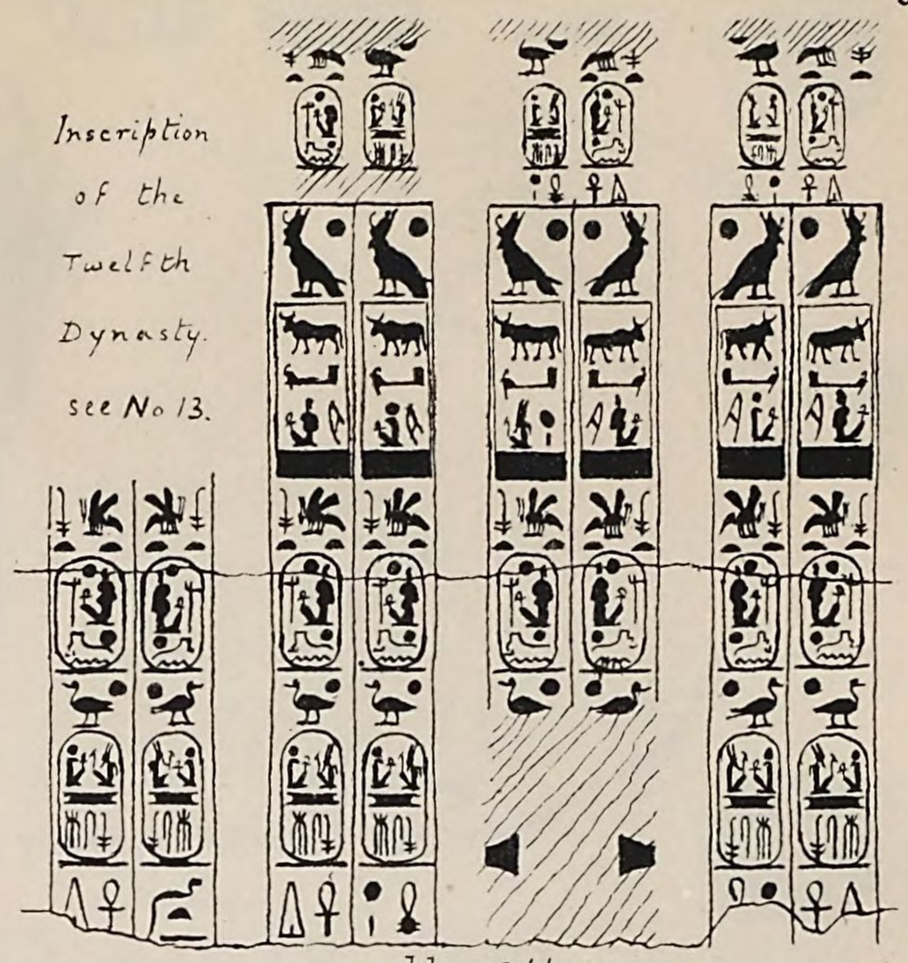


Plan 79

The bases of other obelisks have only small parts of the usual banners, cartouches, and titles, visible. The N. base at E. end has Uati on it.

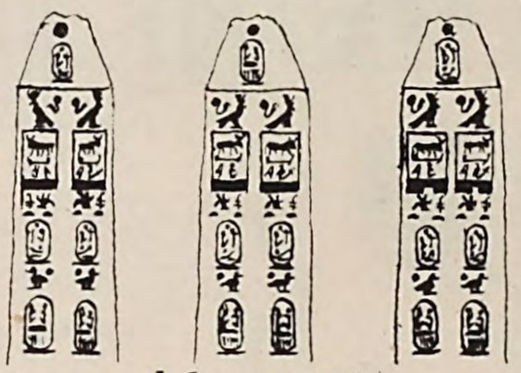
61.

Inscription of the Twelfth Dynasty. see No 13.



Plan 261.

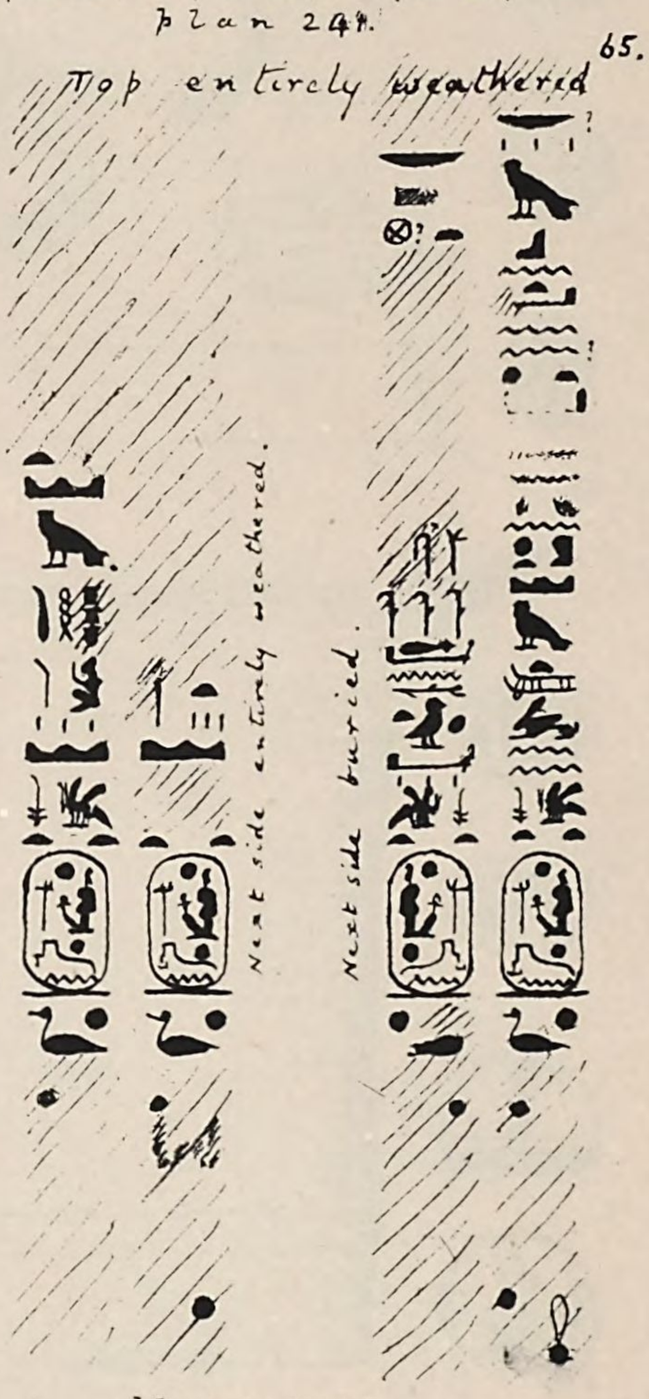
62.



Plan 244.

65.

Top entirely weathered

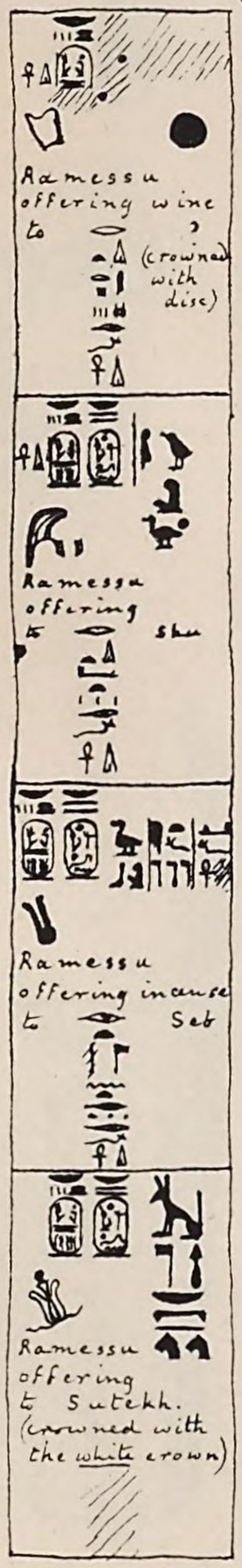


Plan 248, 249.

64.A.



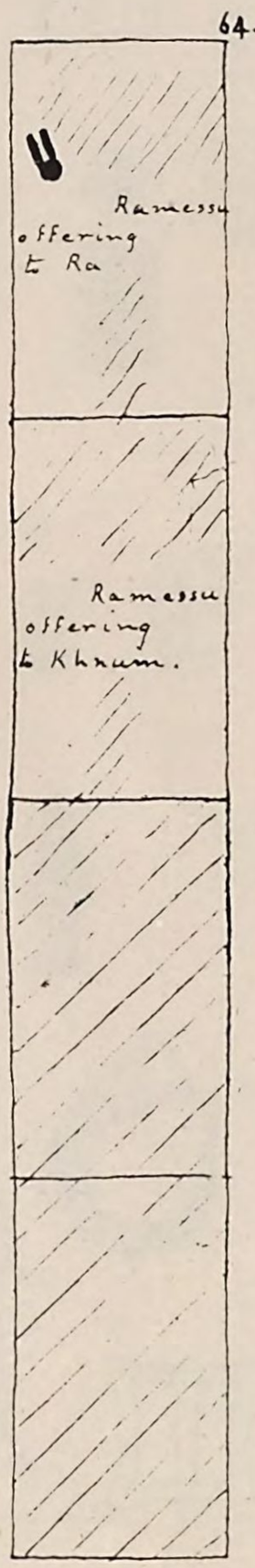
64.B.



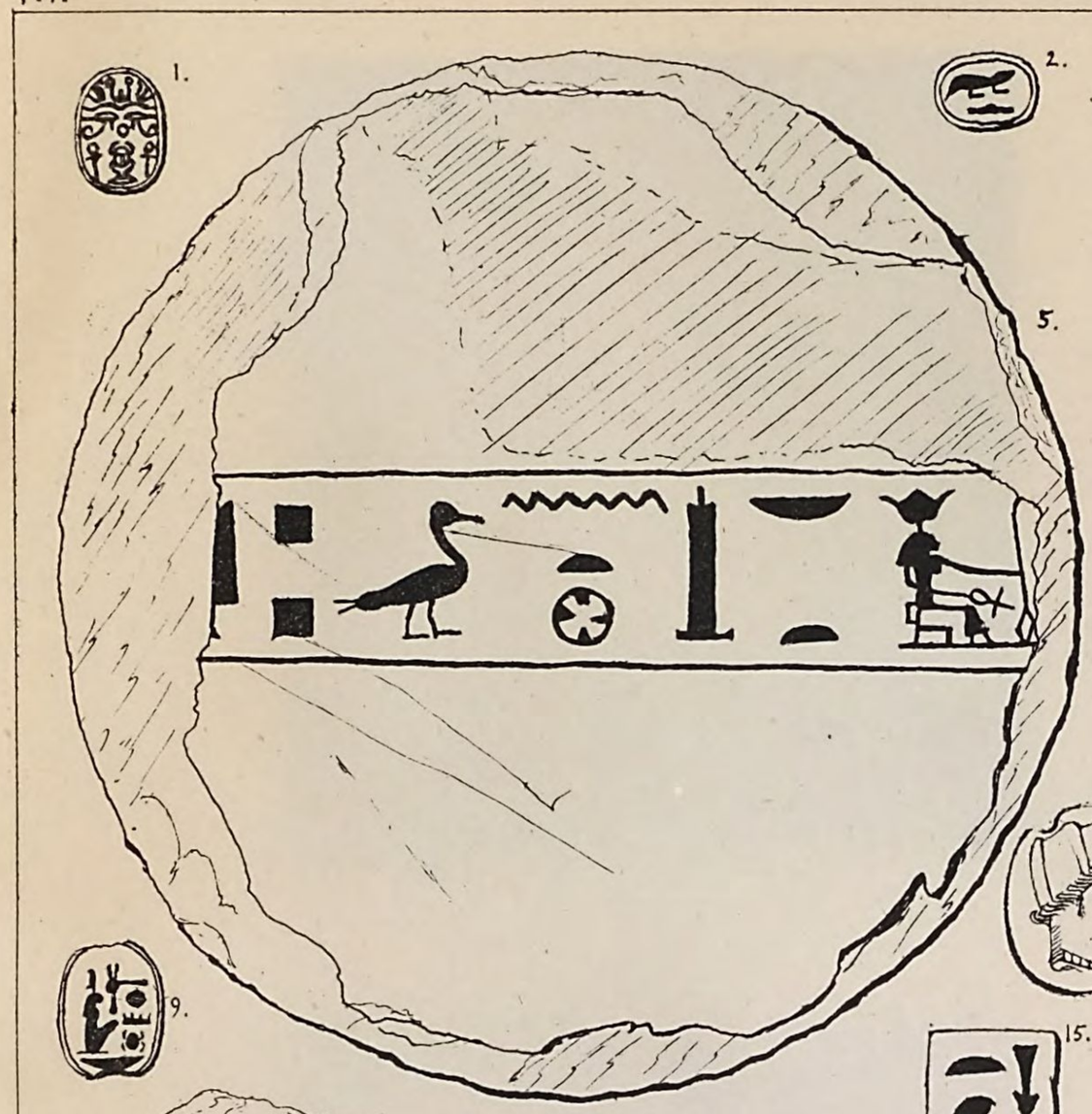
64.C.

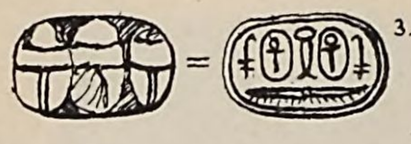


64.D



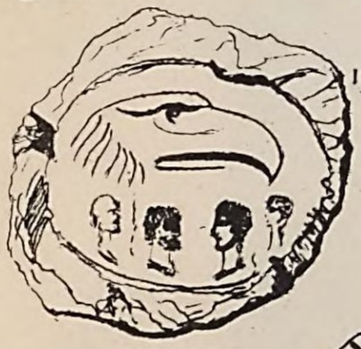
Plan 244.





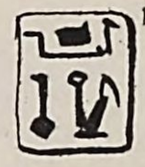


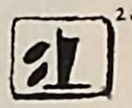
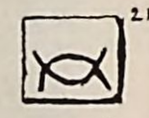
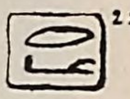


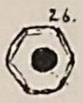
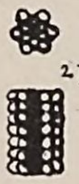
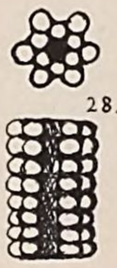




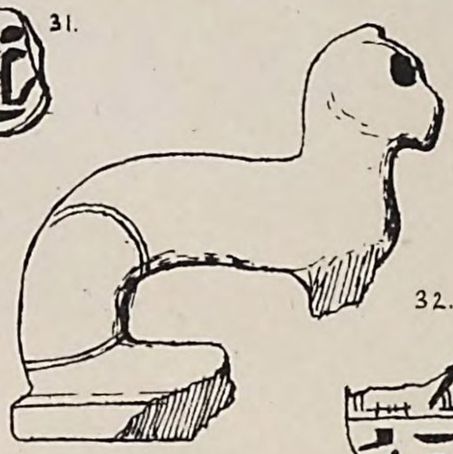
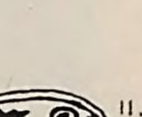








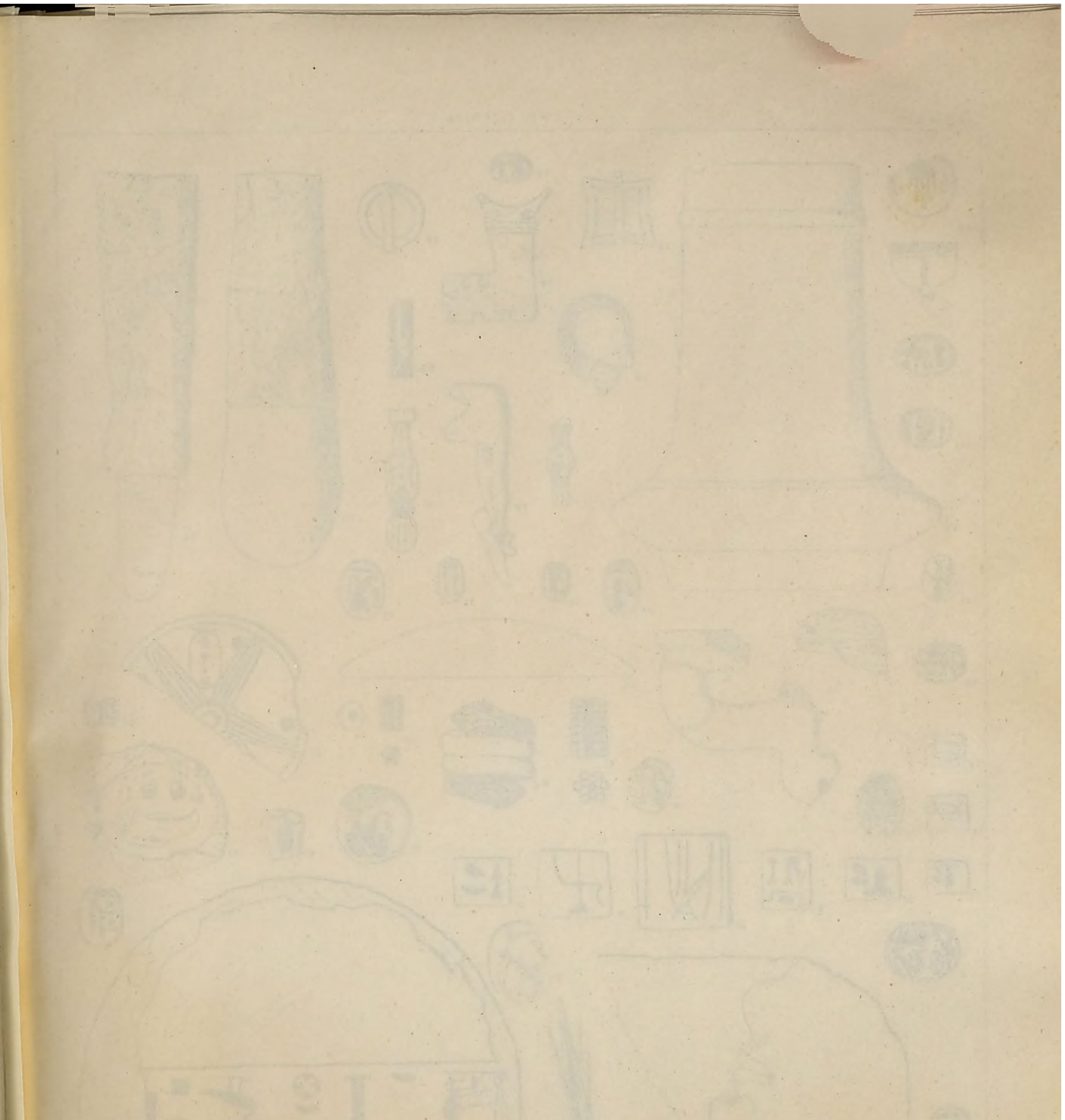






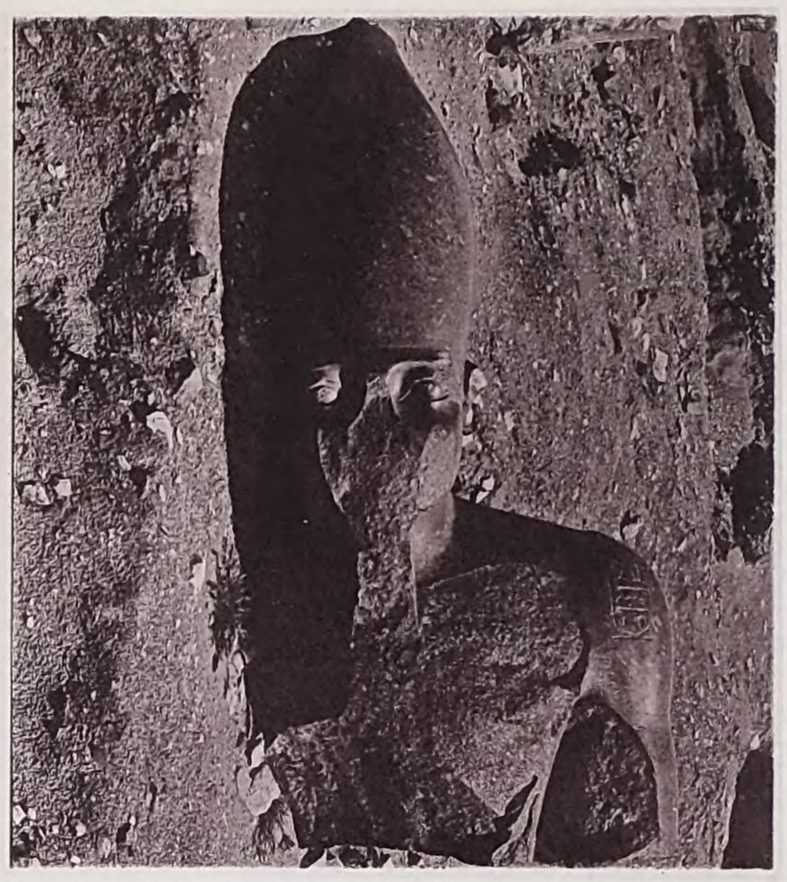
Actual Size.

W.M.F.P.

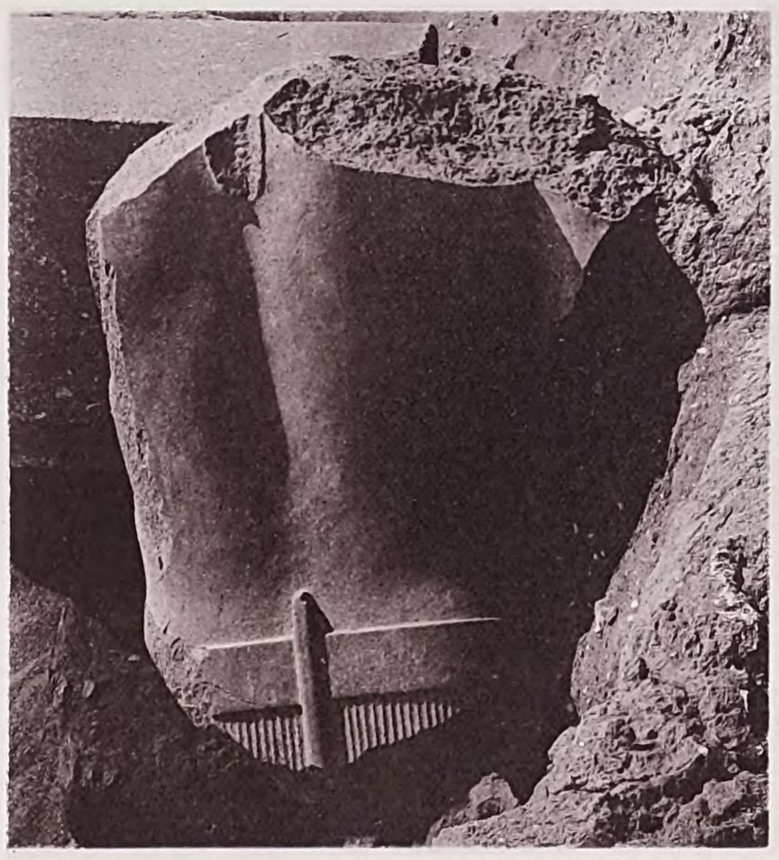




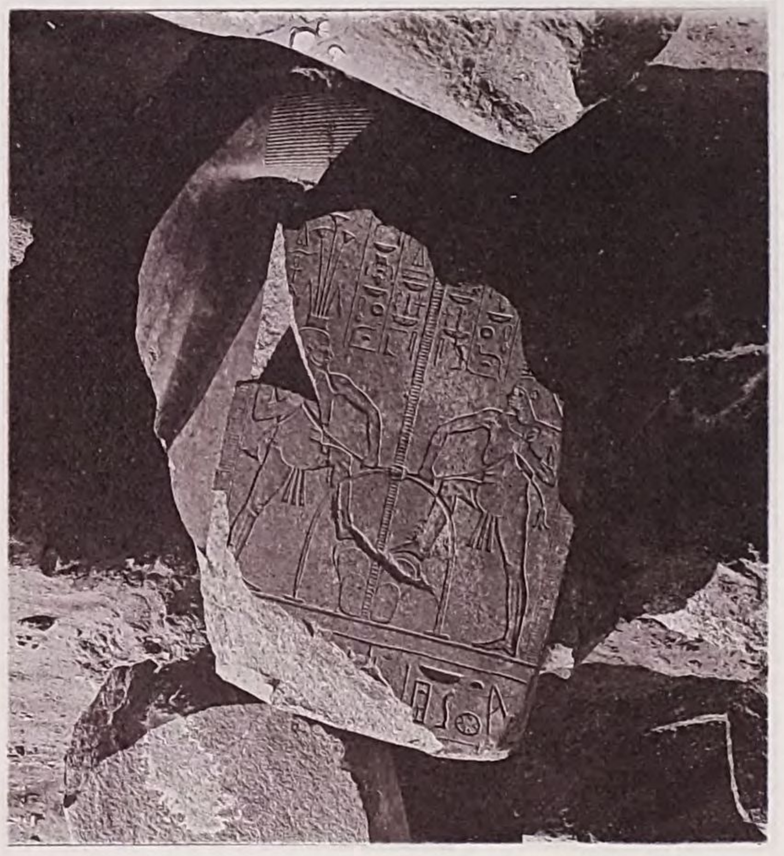
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Red Granite.



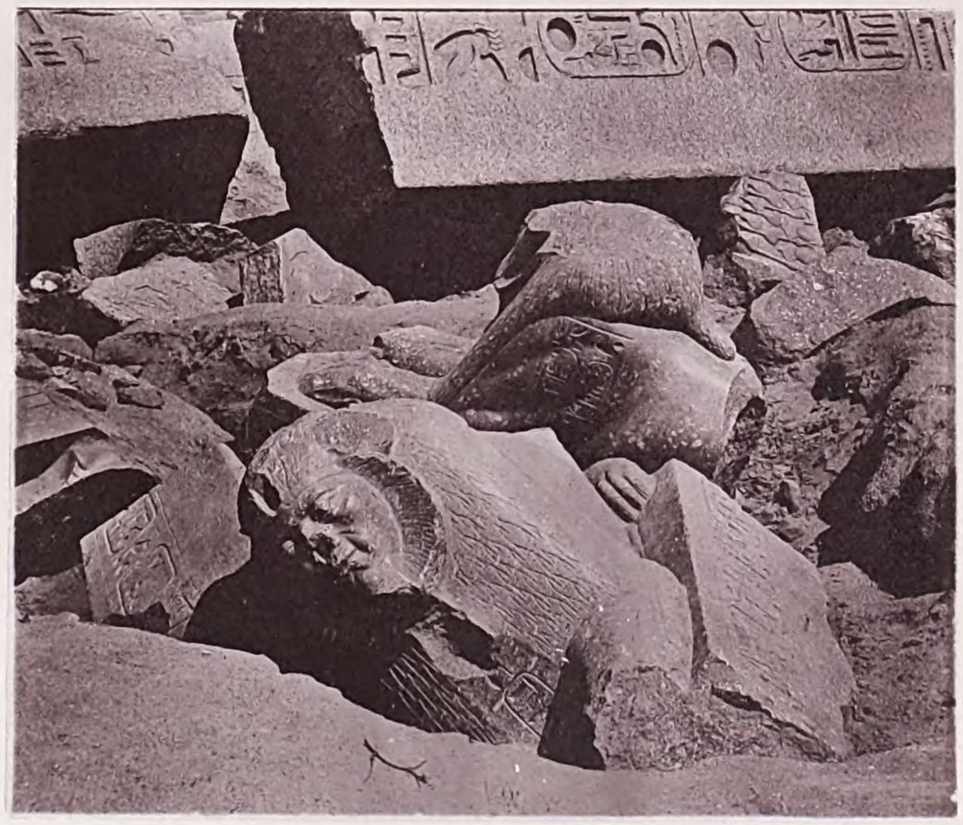
2. HEAD OF USERTESEN I.
Black Granite.



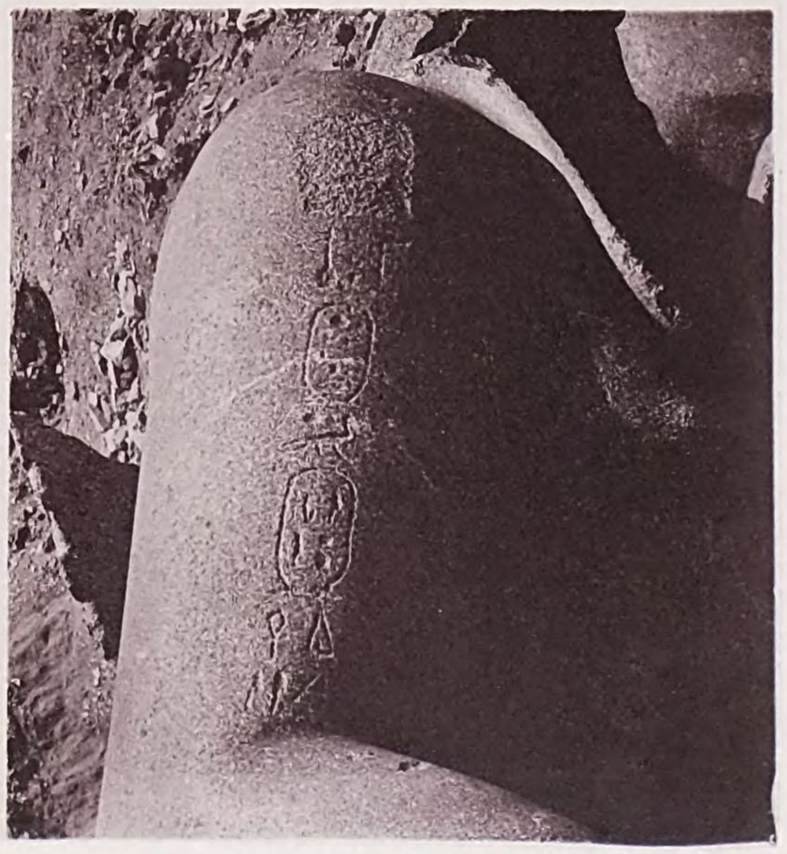
3. TORSO OF AMENEMHAT II.
Black Granite.



4. THRONE OF AMENEMHAT II.
Black Granite.



5. HYKSOS SPHINXES.
Grey Granite.



6. ARM OF MURMASHAU,
WITH NAME OF APEPI THE HYKSOS.
Grey Syenite.



1. MOTHER OF RAMESSU II.
A reworked statue, front inscription XII. Dyn., Side XIX. Dyn.



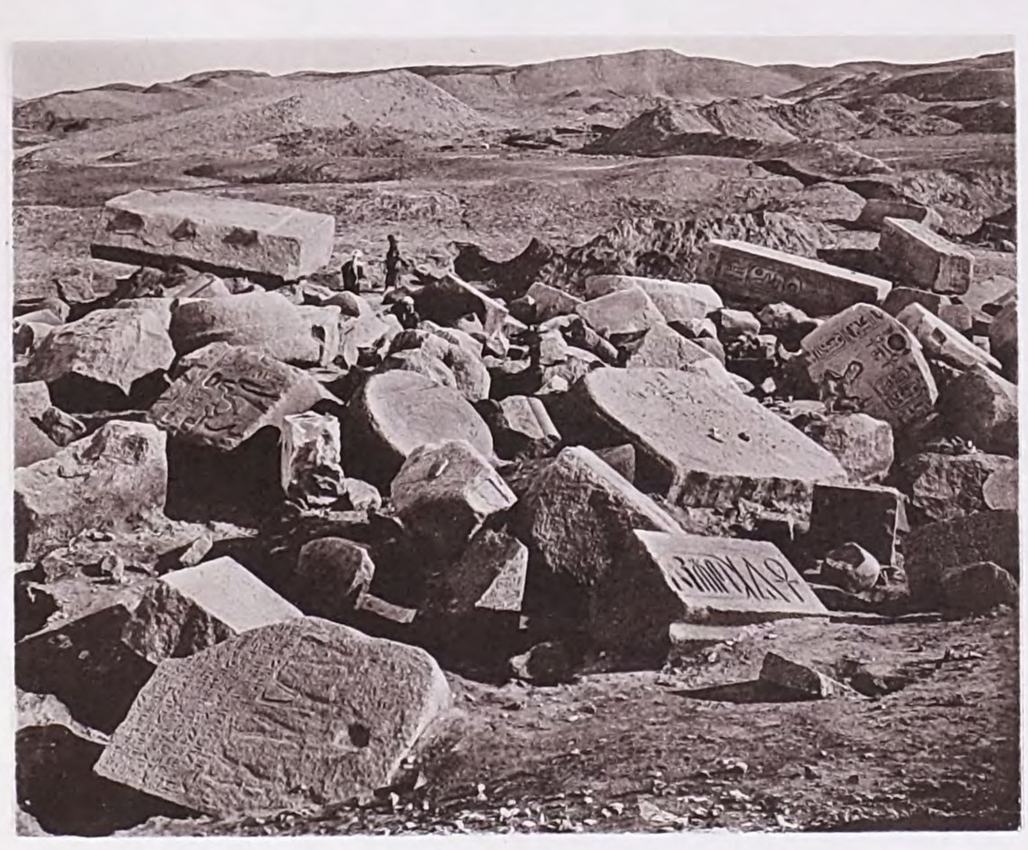
2. HEAD OF RAMESSU II
From a group in red granite.



3. KNEELING STATUE OF RAMESSU II. (?)
Grey Granite.



4. TOES OF GREAT COLOSSUS OF RAMESSU II.
Red Granite.



5. VIEW ACROSS THE SANCTUARY.
Looking North.



6 VIEW DOWN THE WHOLE TEMPLE TO THE PYLON.
Looking West.



1. SOUTH SIDE OF THE PYLON.
Red Granite.



2. PTOLEMY II OFFERING LANDS TO THE DEITIES OF TANIS.
Limestone.



3. PTOLEMY II AND ARSINOE II ADORING THE TRIAD OF TANIS.
Limestone gilt.



4. ONE OF THE SPHINXES FLANKING TABLET No 3.
Limestone.



5. STATUETTE OF PTOLEMY II (?) AND TABLETS.
FOUND WITH TABLET No 3 AND SPHINXES.



6. HEAD ON A TERM.
White Marble.



1. ROMAN ROAD.
TELL EL MASKHUTA.



2. STORE CHAMBER OF PITHOM.
TELL EL MASKHUTA.



3. TRIAD.
TELL EL MASKHUTA.



4. HYKSOS SPHINX RECUT BY RAMESSU II.
ISMAILIYEH, FROM TELL EL MASKHUTA.



5. SHRINE WITH A SPHINX.
ISMAILIYEH, FROM TELL EL MASKHUTA.



6. SHRINE WITH A TRIAD.
SAN.

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF SAN.

SCALE $\frac{1}{1250}$

500 Feet.

Walls and structures *in situ*, of all ages, and

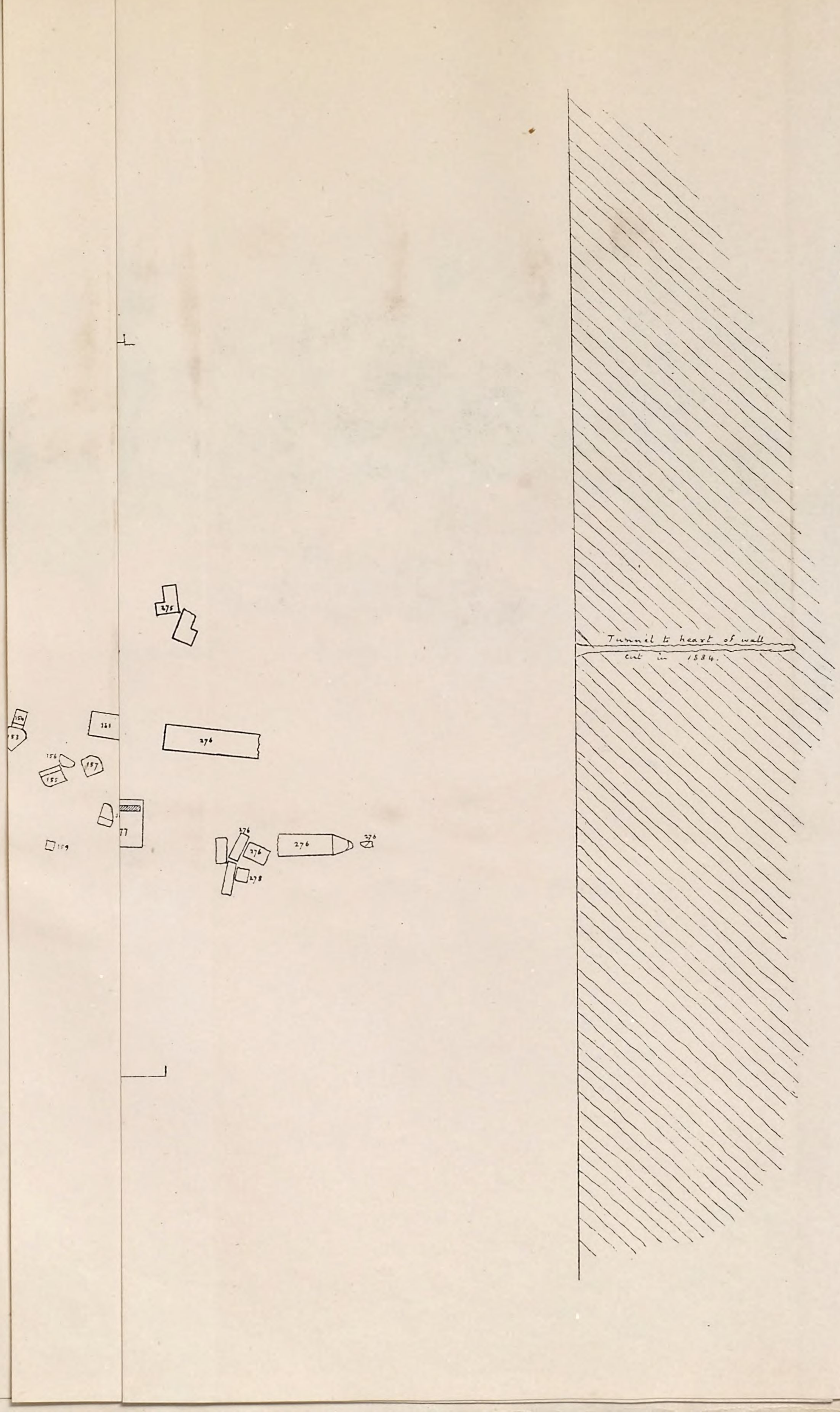
Blocks of stone moved out of position

Excavations before 1884, dotted outline

Excavations during 1884, dotted shading



Pavement Pavement Pavement


275
153
154
321
276
156
157
155
159
277
276
276
276
276
278
Tunnel to heart of wall
cut in 1884.

BIBLIOTHECA
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MONACENSIS

Rob. Ketterer
Buchbinderei

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Petrie, William M. Flinders, / Murray, A. S. / Griffith, Francis Ll.,

Tanis

Bd.: 1

London 1885
4 Arch. 125 kp-2
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